

Beyond the Cyclades



Early Cycladic
sculpture in
context from
mainland Greece,
the north and
east Aegean

*Edited by Marisa Marthari,
Colin Renfrew & Michael J. Boyd*

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Edited by

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Front cover and spine: Sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK1252). Grave 1, Nea Styra, Euboea.

Back cover (from left to right): Fragment of folded-arm sculpture (MK3040), grave 3, Nea Styra, Euboea; head of large stone sculpture (MK3041), grave 2, Nea Styra, Euboea; torso of folded-arm sculpture of Spedos variety, Acropolis (EAM5374); schematic figurine MP9889, Asteria, Attica; schematic figurine EAM8970, Aghios Kosmas, Attica.

*This volume is dedicated to the memory of Maria Kosma, 1970–2015
Maria worked always and everywhere (as she did in Euboea) with deep love and
attachment to antiquities and the Archaeological Service,
as well as with scholarly and ethical consistency.*



*Ο τόμος αυτός αφιερώνεται στη μνήμη της Μαρίας Κοσμά, 1970–2015
Η Μαρία εργάστηκε πάντα και παντού (όπως έκανε και στην Εύβοια) με βαθιά αγάπη και
αφοσίωση για τις αρχαιότητες και την Αρχαιολογική Υπηρεσία,
καθώς και με επιστημονική συνέπεια και ήθος.*

CONTENTS

<i>List of contributors</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xiii
<i>List of figures</i>	xv
<i>List of tables</i>	xix
<i>Preface</i>	xxi

1 Introduction.....	1
<i>Colin Renfrew</i>	

Before the Bronze Age

2 Past in the past: examples of Neolithic figurines from mainland Greece and Early Cycladic anthropomorphic imagery.....	6
<i>Fanis Mavridis</i>	

Attica

3 An Early Cycladic figurine from the Acropolis of Athens	22
<i>Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki</i>	
Appendix: optical examination of a Cycladic-type marble figurine from the Acropolis and vessels from Makronisos in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, <i>Dimitris Tambakopoulos & Yannis Maniatis</i>	
4 Aghios Kosmas revisited: the Cycladic figurines from the Early Helladic site at Aghios Kosmas in Attica.....	35
<i>Katerina Kostanti & Alexandra Christopoulou</i>	
5 Two Cycladic figurines from subterranean Chamber III, in the Early Helladic settlement at Koropi, eastern Attica	44
<i>Olga Kakavogianni</i>	
6 Cycladic figurines from Tsepi, Marathon	51
<i>Maria Pantelidou Gofa</i>	
7 Fragment of an Early Cycladic folded-arm figurine from the acropolis of Brauron	56
<i>Konstantinos Kalogeropoulos</i>	
8 An Early Helladic figurine from Loutsa, Attica	62
<i>Maria Stathi</i>	
9 A schematic figurine from the area of Kephisos in Aegaleo, Athens	67
<i>Eleni Asimakou</i>	
10 A figurine from a tomb at Mandra in western Attica	76
<i>Kalliopi Papangeli</i>	

11	A fragmentary Cycladic figurine from Nea Kephisia, Attica.....	79
	<i>Theodora Georgousopoulou</i>	
12	Cycladic-type figurines from the Early Helladic cemetery of Asteria at Glyfada, Attica.....	94
	<i>Konstantina Kaza-Papageorgiou</i>	
	Appendix: the bioarchaeological context of the Asteria figurines, <i>Eleanna Prevedorou</i>	

Peloponnese

13	Early Cycladic sculpture from Delpriza in the southern Argolid.....	108
	<i>Angeliki Kossyva</i>	
14	Cycladic figurine from the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas in Epidauria.....	119
	<i>Vassilis Lambrinoudakis</i>	
15	A Cycladic figurine from Upper Epidauros.....	126
	<i>Christos Piteros</i>	
16	An Early Cycladic figurine from a Late Protogeometric burial context in Argos.....	132
	<i>Evangelia Pappi</i>	

North Aegean, Boeotia, Euboea, Phthiotis and Skyros

17	Early Bronze Age schematic figurines from Thermi on Lesbos.....	142
	<i>Olga Philaniotou</i>	
18	A comment on a Cycladic figurine in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes.....	152
	<i>Eleni Andrikou</i>	
19	Cycladic figurines from Euboea.....	155
	<i>Efi Sapouna-Sakellarakis</i>	
20	<i>Manika revisited: a recontextualisation of Euboean Cycladica in the light of new research</i>	163
	<i>Adamantios Sampson & Athena Hadji</i>	
21	Cycladic marble figurines from the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Nea Styra, Euboea.....	168
	<i>Maria Kosma</i>	
22	<i>Cycladica</i> from the settlement at Palamari on Skyros.....	183
	<i>Liana Parlama</i>	
23	Conspicuous consumption in the settlement context of Early Bronze Age Proskynas in East Lokris, central Greece.....	190
	<i>Eleni Zahou</i>	

Dodecanese and Asia Minor littoral

24	Early Cycladic figurines from Vathy, Astypalaia.....	202
	<i>Andreas Vlachopoulos & Anastasia Angelopoulou</i>	
25	Early Cycladic II and Early Bronze II finds from the Dodecanese: the case of the island of Kos.....	227
	<i>Toula Marketou</i>	
26	An Early Cycladic anthropomorphic figurine from the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes.....	232
	<i>Athena Hadji</i>	
27	Local and imported in action: western Anatolian and Cycladic figurines at Early Bronze Age Miletus.....	237
	<i>Ourania Kouka</i>	

-
- 28 Third-millennium BC anthropomorphic figurines of western Anatolia, a comparative view.
Towards a better understanding of the origins and meanings of Cycladic figurines 250
Rıza Tuncel & Vasıf Şahoğlu

New Discoveries in the Cyclades

- 29 Sculptures from the Papaoikonomou property on Ano Kouphonisi 266
Irini Legaki, Colin Renfrew, Michael Boyd & Eugenia Orfanidou

Early Cycladic Sculpture in Perspective

- 30 Early Cycladic sculpture beyond the Cyclades: the Aegean context 280
Colin Renfrew, Michael Boyd & Marisa Marthari

- Index* 297

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAM	Astypalaia Archaeological Museum	LC	Late Cycladic
AKR	Akrotiri	LN	Late Neolithic
BE	Brauron Museum	LR	Late Roman
cat. no.	catalogue number	m	metre
cm	centimetre	MBA	Middle Bronze Age
EAM	National Archaeological Museum, Athens	MK	Museum of Karystos
EBA	Early Bronze Age	mm	millimetre
EC	Early Cycladic	MM	Museum of Mytilene
EM	Museum of Eretria	MMe	Museum of Menidi
FN	Final Neolithic	MN	Museum of Nafplion
g	gram	MP	Museum of Piraeus
GM	Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens	MSk	Museum of Skyros
HM	Museum of Chalkis	NM	Naxos Museum
km	kilometre		
LBA	Late Bronze Age		

LIST OF FIGURES

- 1.1. Map showing sites with figurines in the Greek mainland and the Eastern Aegean mentioned presented in this volume.
- 2.1. Map of sites with material presented in the text.
- 2.2. Sketch of Neolithic and EC figurines.
- 2.3. Stone figurine. Panglai, Mt Varassova, Aetoloakarnania.
- 2.4. Clay torsos. Leontari Cave, Hymettos Mt Attica.
- 2.5. Clay figurines with Cycladic affinities. Leontari Cave, Hymettos, Attica.
- 2.6. Stone figurines. Leontari Cave, Hymettos, Attica.
- 2.7. Marble bowl. LN I. Leontari Cave, Hymettos, Attica.
- 2.8. Schematic clay figurine. LN II. Agia Triada Cave, Karystos, Euboea.
- 2.9. Bowl with white painted decoration and prosopomorphic handle. Agia Triada Cave, Karystos.
- 3.1. View of the Acropolis from the south, circa 1860.
- 3.2. EAM5374. Figurine of the Spedos variety. Acropolis.
- 3.3. EAM16026. Bird pendant. Acropolis.
- 3.4. EAM13417. Miniature pyxis. Acropolis.
- 3.5. EAM13420. Pyxis lid. Acropolis.
- 3.6. EAM13419. Pyxis lid. Acropolis.
- 3.7. Lavrion Museum 985. Pyxis. Ag. Nikolaos, Anavyssos.
- 3.8. Pyxis lid, Acropolis, North Slope.
- 3.9. Pyxis body fragments. Acropolis, North Slope.
- 3.10. Pyxis. Thorikos, Lavrion.
- 3.11. Pyxis. Thera.
- 3.12. EAM13421. Pyxis lid. Acropolis.
- 3.13. Old Acropolis Museum 4954. Duck askos. Acropolis, West Slope.
- 3.14. Old Acropolis Museum 4955. Miniature cups. Acropolis, West Slope.
- 3.15. Old Acropolis Museum 4955. Miniature cup. Acropolis, West Slope.
- 3.16. Old Acropolis Museum 4958 and Old Acropolis Museum 5054. Jugs. Acropolis, West Slope.
- 3.17. Jar with incised ships. Acropolis, North Slope.
- 3.18. A close up photo the figurine EAM5374 at a break.
- 3.19. Detail of the crystalline structure of figurine EAM5374 through the optical microscope using transmitted light.
- 4.1. EAM8970. Schematic figurine.
- 4.2. EAM8970. Detail of decoration on face.
- 4.3. EAM8971. Torso and legs of folded-arm figurine of late Spedos variety.
- 4.4. EAM8971. Linear paint ghosts (grey lines) at the waist, pelvis and upper legs.
- 4.5. EAM8971. Details of the repair hole, and reconstruction of the repair process using lead.
- 4.6. EAM8972. Torso and legs of a Louros-type figurine.
- 4.7. EAM8973. Head, neck and part of the shoulders of a folded-arm figurine of Dokathismata variety.
- 4.8. EAM8974. Head with part of the neck of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety.
- 4.9. EAM8975. Schematic figurine.
- 4.10. EAM8976. Schematic figurine.
- 4.11. EAM12802. Possible figurine fragment.
- 4.12. Aghios Kosmas North cemetery. Findspots of the figurines.
- 4.13. Aghios Kosmas North cemetery. Cluster of graves 1–7.
- 5.1. Plan of the excavation in the Health Centre plot at Koropi.
- 5.2. Chamber II, from the south, between Chamber I and Chamber IV.
- 5.3. Pottery from the oldest layer of the fill of Chamber III.
- 5.4. Schematic figurine (number 1).
- 5.5. Waist, pelvis and upper legs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (number 2).
- 5.6. Koropi, EH II phase IIa pottery.
- 5.7. Koropi, EH II phase IIb pottery.
- 5.8. Koropi, EH II phase IIc pottery.
- 5.9. Koropi. EH II painted pottery.
- 6.1. Spade-shaped marble figurine no. 453.
- 6.2. Spade-shaped marble figurine no. 304.
- 6.3. Spade-shaped marble figurine no. 298.
- 6.4. Louros-type shell figurine no. 454.
- 6.5. Fragmentary violin-shaped marble figurine no. 658.
- 6.6. Plain amphoriskoi found with figurine no. 454.
- 7.1. Brauron. Plan of site showing the area of the museum where the figurine fragment was found.
- 7.2. Brauron, Acropolis. Brauron Museum inv. no. 37. Neck and upper torso of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety.
- 7.3. Brauron, Acropolis. Brauron Museum inv. no. 83. Fragment of a terracotta pyxis lid.
- 8.1. Location of site.
- 8.2. The interior of grave 1.
- 8.3. Grave 2.
- 8.4. Left: BE7100, neck jar from grave 2. Right: BE7095, pyxis-like vase from grave 2.
- 8.5. BE7101, part of bone palette from grave 2.
- 8.6. BE7102 the schematic figurine from grave 2.
- 9.1. Map of Aegaleo in Athens, showing location of graves.
- 9.2. Grave I.
- 9.3. Grave II.

- 9.4. Grave III.
- 9.5. Grave II, northeast part of the burial chamber, marble bowl and pestle.
- 9.6. Grave III. Flat based collared jar (MM2516).
- 9.7. Grave I. The material found in the grave.
- 9.8. Schematic figurine BE7028 from Grave I.
- 9.9. Grave I. Bowl with red pigment (BE7027).
- 9.10. Grave I. Bowl with red pigment (BE7026).
- 9.11. Grave I. Trough-shaped palette (BE7029).
- 9.12. Grave I. Obsidian blade (BE7031).
- 9.13. Map of Attica with the findspots of selected schematic figurines.
- 10.1. Figurine from Mandra near Eleusis.
- 11.1. Map of Attica.
- 11.2. Satellite picture of the area east and west of Thevaídos Street, Nea Kephisia.
- 11.3. MMe234. Folded-arm figurine fragment of Kapsala or Spedos variety.
- 11.4. Aerial photograph of the site of the sanctuary of Dionysos and Aphrodite, Nea Kephisia, from the south.
- 11.5. Sanctuary of Dionysos and Aphrodite, Nea Kephisia. The Π-shaped space with the pedestal, from the east.
- 11.6. Sanctuary of Dionysos and Aphrodite, Nea Kephisia. Plan of the site with the findspot of MMe234.
- 11.7. MMe371. Basin of coarse fabric from Pit 1.
- 11.8. MMe259. Bowl with ring base from Pit 1.
- 11.9. Pit 1. The single-handled tankards MMe267, MMe268, and halved bowls, from the east.
- 11.10. MMe267. Single-handled tankard with hole on lower body, from Pit 1.
- 11.11. MMe265. Two-handled tankard with hole on lower body, from Pit 1.
- 11.12. MMe1036. One-handled cup with hole on base, from Pit 1 (drawing by K. Deli).
- 11.13. MMe386. Part of Urfirnis sauceboat from Pit 1.
- 11.14. Pit 1. Animal mandible and bone.
- 11.15. MMe375. Fragments of cheesepots from Pit 2.
- 11.16. MMe246. Part of a stand of the saddle-type from Pit 2.
- 11.17. MMe238, MMe235, MMe239. Decorated hearth-rim fragments from Pit 2.
- 11.18. MMe262, MMe1044, MMe263. One-handled cups from Pit 1.
- 11.19. MMe271. Pyxis-shaped vessel from Pit 1.
- 12.1. Part of the west coast of Attica, with the Pounta peninsula to the north and Vouliagmeni to the south.
- 12.2. Pounta peninsula. Archaeological sectors 1A and 1B.
- 12.3. Archaeological sector 1B. The cemetery (N), the pit-deposits (A) and the stone heap (A).
- 12.4. View of the cemetery with cluster of graves and segment of the *peribolos*.
- 12.5. The chamber of grave 14. Skeleton *in situ*.
- 12.6. Figurine 1: spatula-type figurine.
- 12.7. 'Grave' 11. Figurine 1 *in situ*.
- 12.8. Figurine 2: spade-type figurine.
- 12.9. Figurine 3: spade-type figurine.
- 12.10. Pit 1 (grave 16).
- 12.11. Frying pan from grave 16.
- 12.12. Figurine 4: spade-type figurine.
- 12.13. Figurine 5: miniature bipartite figurine.
- 12.14. Line of pits used for burials (graves 2, 17 and 16, from west to east).
- 12.15. Figurine 6, of a type close to the Louros type.
- 12.16. Miniature vase from grave 11.
- 12.17. Drawing of a pyxis-shaped vase from grave 16.
- 12.18. Pyxis-shaped vases from grave 16.
- 13.1. Map of the Southern Argolid.
- 13.2. Delpriza. Excavated area of the Bostani site.
- 13.3. Bostani site. Early Helladic pottery.
- 13.4. Bostani site. Imported Early Helladic pottery.
- 13.5. Bostani site. Sea shells with traces of processing.
- 13.6. Bostani grave. Floor plan of the tomb and view of its interior with finds *in situ*.
- 13.7. Bostani grave. Pyxides A1, A2 and A5.
- 13.8. Bostani grave. Marble figurine.
- 13.9. Delpriza. Aerial view of Site 2.
- 13.10. Site 2. Early Helladic pottery.
- 13.11. Site 2, tomb. Floor plan of the tomb and view of its interior with finds *in situ*.
- 13.12. Site 2, tomb. Obsidian blades.
- 13.13. Site 2, tomb. Silver rings.
- 13.14. Site 2, tomb. Pyxides A1, A4, A7, A8 and A2.
- 13.15. Site 2, tomb. Bowls A3 and A5.
- 13.16. Site 2, tomb. Pedestalled deep bowl A11.
- 13.17. Site 2, tomb. Frying pan A9.
- 13.18. Site 2, tomb. Jar A10.
- 13.19. Site 2, tomb. Marble figurine E1.
- 13.20. Site 2, tomb. Marble figurine E3.
- 13.21. Site 2, tomb. Marble figurine E2.
- 13.22. Site 2, tomb. Marble bowl A6.
- 13.23. Site 2, tomb. Marble pestles.
- 14.1. Head and neck of Cycladic marble figurine found in the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros.
- 14.2. Cycladic figurine from Aplomata, Naxos.
- 14.3. Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros. Grey: Prehistoric. Black: Classical. Dark grey: Roman.
- 14.4. EH I burials on the Kynortion Hill.
- 14.5. MH ritual pit in the ruins of the EH settlement on the Kynortion hill; brazier found next to the pit shown bottom right.
- 14.6. Findspot of the Cycladic figurine in the Mycenaean layers under the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas.
- 14.7. Drawing of the terrace, the ash altar and the shrine in the Mycenaean sanctuary on the Kynortion hill.
- 14.8. Excavation in the Mycenaean layers under the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas.
- 14.9. Cycladic frying pan found in the fill of the Mycenaean ash altar.
- 15.1. Upper Epidauros, Koloti, EH pottery.
- 15.2. Upper Epidauros, Koloti, Cycladic figurine, MN32170.
- 15.3. Ilia, Neraida, Cycladic figurine.
- 15.4. Upper Epidauros, Koloti, EH II pottery.
- 15.5. Upper Epidauros, Koloti, EH III pottery.
- 15.6. Upper Epidauros, Koloti, EH figurine.
- 15.7. Zygouries, EH figurine.
- 15.8. Epidauros, Nera, EH II sauceboat.
- 15.9. Iria, EC amphora MN33105.
- 16.1. Torso of folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety (Argos Museum 11964).
- 16.2. Tomb 75, looking south.
- 16.3. Tomb 75, looking east.
- 16.4. Plan of tomb 75. Sketch from the excavation diary.

- 16.5. Pottery from tomb 75.
- 16.6. Clay objects from tomb 75.
- 16.7. Faience beads, iron pin and bronze ring from tomb 75.
- 16.8. Marine shell from tomb 75.
- 17.1. Schematic figurine MM4723, Thermi I.
- 17.2. Schematic figurine MM4727, Thermi I.
- 17.3. Schematic figurine MM4726, Thermi I.
- 17.4. Schematic figurine MM4724, Thermi II or III.
- 17.5. Schematic figurine MM4725, Thermi III.
- 17.6. Schematic figurine MM4728, Thermi EBA, unstratified.
- 17.7. Schematic figurine Θμ10, Thermi unstratified.
- 17.8. Schematic figurine Θμ11, Thermi unstratified.
- 17.9. Schematic figurine Θμ12, Thermi unstratified.
- 17.10. Schematic figurine Θμ13, Thermi unstratified.
- 17.11. Nozzle of clay 'Lamp' Θμ17, Thermi unstratified.
- 17.12. Marble plain rim bowl fragment, MM4729, MM4731. Thermi I-III.
- 17.13. Marble plain rim bowl fragment, MM4730. Thermi II.
- 17.14. Marble rolled-rim bowl fragment, MM4266. Thermi III.
- 17.15. Marble bowl body fragment, MM4732. Thermi I.
- 17.16. Marble bowl body fragment, MMΘμ18. Thermi unstratified.
- 18.1. Bone figurine (BE27108) from Thebes.
- 18.2. Detail of bone figurine BE27108.
- 19.1. Schematic figurine (HM5973). Manika, Zoussi plot.
- 19.2. Schematic figurine. Magoula.
- 19.3. Bone figurine (HM5419). Manika, Beligianni plot, Tomb 8.
- 19.4. Schematic figurine (HM361). Manika, Papavasileiou Excavations.
- 19.5. Schematic figurine (HM6046). Manika, Beligianni plot, Tomb M.
- 19.6. Folded-arm figurine (HM6045). Manika, Beligianni plot, Tomb M.
- 19.7. Folded-arm figurine (HM5965). Manika, Papastamatiou plot, Tomb Π.
- 19.8. Head of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (HM5804). Manika, Beligianni plot.
- 19.9. Precanonical figurine (HM5957). Manika, Papastamatiou plot, Tomb K.
- 19.10. Headless female figurine (HM6048). Manika, Beligianni plot, Tomb 29.
- 19.11. Precanonical figurine (HM360). Manika, Papavasileiou Excavations, Tomb 1.
- 19.12. Seated figurine (HM5966). Manika. Papastamatiou plot, tomb Π.
- 19.13. Detail of seated figurine HM5966.
- 19.14. Seated figurine (HM6049). Manika. Beligianni plot. Tomb 29.
- 19.15. Detail of seated figurine HM6049.
- 19.16. Styra, two folded-arm figurines.
- 19.17. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (EM19448). Eretria.
- 20.1. Head of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety.
- 20.2. Marble schematic figurine.
- 20.3. Zoomorphic handle of a clay vessel.
- 20.4. Zoomorphic steatite vessel.
- 20.5. Zoomorphic steatite vessel.
- 20.6. Miniature zoomorphic clay vessel.
- 21.1. Two of the folded arm figurines which were found as chance finds in the 19th century.
- 21.2. Marble bowls and pyxides from the Nea Styra graves.
- 21.3. *Depas amphikypellon* from Grave 3.
- 21.4. Part of head of a sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK1251). Grave 1, Nea Styra.
- 21.5. Torso to upper legs of a sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK1252). Grave 1, Nea Styra.
- 21.6. Almost intact sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3031). Grave 1, Nea Styra.
- 21.7. Head of a sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3033). Grave 1, Nea Styra.
- 21.8. Part of pubic triangle and left thigh of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3039). Grave 3, Nea Styra.
- 21.9. Part of right lower leg of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3032). Grave 1, Nea Styra.
- 21.10. Part of right lower leg of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3036). Grave 1, Nea Styra.
- 21.11. Lower part of torso to thighs of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3034). Gissouri, Nea Styra.
- 21.12. Pelvis and legs of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3035). Grave 1, Nea Styra.
- 21.13. Torso of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3037). Grave 1, Nea Styra.
- 21.14. Head of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3043). Grave 4, Nea Styra.
- 21.15. Part of lower body of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type, or possibly a seated figure (MK3042). Grave 3, Nea Styra.
- 21.16. Torso to upper legs of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3040). Grave 3, Nea Styra.
- 21.17. Part of neck of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3038). Grave 1, Nea Styra.
- 21.18. Part of the legs of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3044). Gissouri, Nea Styra.
- 21.19. Head and part of neck of a large-sized stone sculpture (MK3041). Gissouri, Nea Styra.
- 22.1. Aerial photograph of Palamari on Skyros.
- 22.2. Plan of the settlement at Palamari.
- 22.3. Stratigraphic section of the excavation of the interior of the south fortification.
- 22.4. *Depas amphikypellon* (MSk1220).
- 22.5. Cylinder seals (MSk1021).
- 22.6. Marble figurine (MSk2111).
- 22.7. Head of a marble figurine (MSk1360).
- 22.8. Fragment of a marble bowl (MSk1495, MSk1496).
- 22.9. Fragment of a marble bowl (MSk1494).
- 22.10. Fragment of a marble bowl (MSk1794).
- 22.11. Sherds of frying pans (from different places in the settlement).
- 22.12. Jug with painted decoration (MSk736).
- 22.13. Saucer (MSk1926).
- 22.14. Sauceboats (from various parts of the settlement)
- 22.15. Spools (from various places in the settlement).
- 22.16. Nodule, cores and blades of Melian obsidian.
- 22.17. Fragment of a stone figurine from the site of Atsitsa on Skyros.
- 22.18. Bone tubes (Museum of Skyros).
- 23.1. The EBA settlement at Proskynas, showing buildings and findspots of figurines.

- 23.2. The communal space of the settlement with thermal structures.
- 23.3. Pyxis with incised decoration.
- 23.4. Jug and storage vessels.
- 23.5. Sherds from frying pans.
- 23.6. Marble figurine of Louros type.
- 23.7. Sherds of sauceboats of Urfirnis ware.
- 23.8. Marble saucer.
- 23.9. Sauceboat of Urfirnis ware.
- 23.10. Sherds of pouring vessels.
- 23.11. Part of marble figurine of Louros type.
- 23.12. Obsidian tools.
- 23.13. A seal and beads of steatite.
- 24.1. Vathy, aerial photograph and topographic plan with the surface constructions.
- 24.2. Vathy. Violin-shaped marble figurine (AAM99).
- 24.3. Vathy, 'Exedra' 5. Stone seal (AAM443).
- 24.4. Vathy, 'Exedra' 5. Violin-shaped marble figurine (AAM442).
- 24.5. Vathy, 'Exedra' 5. Marble EC 'pestle-shaped' figurine (AAM495).
- 24.6. The settlement of Vathy, on the promontory of Cape Elliniko (Pyrgos).
- 24.7. Boulder-built retaining wall at Vathy.
- 24.8. Surface finds from the north coast of Vathy.
- 24.9. Rock carving of oared ships at a gateway or entrance to the acropolis.
- 24.10. Detail of notebook showing rock-carved ships.
- 24.11. Rock carvings of daggers.
- 24.12. Modern imprint of a rock carving of dagger.
- 24.13. Rock carving of spiral.
- 24.14. Rock carvings of spirals on the south shore of Vathy.
- 24.15. 'Exedra' 1 with infant pot burials nos. 1–3 and 'Exedra' 2 with infant pot burial no. 4.
- 24.16. Stone lid covering infant pot burial 1.
- 24.17. Detail of infant burial 1, with fossilised remains of cloth.
- 24.18. Detail of pot burial 2.
- 24.19. Broken vase used as part of pot burial 2.
- 24.20. Obsidian core and pile of sherds (possible pot burial 3).
- 24.21. Pottery group from 'Exedra' 1 (possible pot burial 3).
- 24.22. 'Exedra' 2. Pierced worked stone tool and pot burial 4.
- 24.23. 'Exedres' 1 and 2 (K16) and 'Exedres' 4 and 5 (Π5).
- 24.24. 'Exedres' 4 and 5. The South wall of the Π-shaped construction.
- 24.25. 'Exedres' 4 and 5. Findspot of stone seal.
- 24.26. 'Exedres' 4 and 5. Findspot of the schematic marble figurine AAM442.
- 24.27. Pottery group from 'Exedres' 4 and 5.
- 24.28. Pottery group from 'Exedres' 4 and 5.
- 24.29. Pottery group from 'Exedres' 4 and 5.
- 24.30. Sherd of fine ware vessel of closed shape ('pyxis').
- 24.31. The 'pyxis' pottery group.
- 24.32. Cheese-pot and rolled-rim bowl fragments.
- 24.33. Bowl with well-burnished dark brown surfaces.
- 24.34. Tubular lug of bowl.
- 24.35. Deep bowl used for burial number 2.
- 24.36. Collared vessel used for pot burial 1, with lid.
- 24.37. Bowl with lugs.
- 24.38. Rim fragment of collared jar.
- 24.39. Rim fragments of shallow or deep bowls and collared jars.
- 25.1. Early Bronze Age finds from Rhodes.
- 25.2. Mesaria pottery and marble bowl.
- 25.3. Mesaria pottery.
- 25.4. Metal finds from Mesaria pithos burial.
- 25.5. Marble hemispherical bowl from Mesaria pithos burial.
- 26.1. EC figurine from Kremasti Rhodes.
- 26.2. EC figurine from Kremasti Rhodes.
- 27.1. Miletus. Settlement plan showing the distribution of local figurines and the EC II figurine of Dokathismata variety.
- 27.2. Miletus IIIa. Head and neck of the EC II figurine of Dokathismata variety.
- 27.3. Miletus IIc-d. Local figurines of the EB II (late)–III.
- 27.4. Miletus II. 8-shaped figurine AT 95.256.1.
- 27.5. Miletus II. 8-shaped figurine AT 98.189.2.
- 27.6. Miletus II. Schematic figurine with triangular head and ovoid body AT 98.98.1.
- 27.7. Miletus II. Schematic figurine with triangular head and ovoid body AT 98.429.1.
- 27.8. Miletus. Schematic figurine with triangular head and ovoid body AT 98.406.1.
- 27.9. Miletus II. Schematic figurine with with plank-shaped rectangular body AT 98.93.1.
- 27.10. Miletus II. millstone from the open space.
- 28.1. Map of Anatolia showing sites mentioned in the text.
- 28.2. Diagram of main figurine types from coastal western Anatolia (Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age).
- 28.3. Group of figure-of-eight figurines from Bakla Tepe.
- 28.4. Figure-of-eight figurine from the 'Special Deposit' at Bakla Tepe.
- 28.5. Figure-of-eight figurine from the 'Special Deposit' at Bakla Tepe.
- 28.6. Figure-of-eight figurine from the 'Special Deposit' at Bakla Tepe.
- 28.7. Figure-of-eight figurine from the 'Central Court' at Liman Tepe.
- 28.8. Stone phallus with a monkey's head from the 'Central Court' at Liman Tepe.
- 28.9. Stone phallus from the 'Central Court' at Liman Tepe.
- 28.10. Clay figurine head from Çine-Tepecik.
- 29.1. Plan of the excavations at the Papaoikonomou plot, Ano Kouphonisi.
- 29.2. Aerial view of the excavations at the Papaoikonomou plot, Ano Kouphonisi.
- 29.3. Torso of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (NM14528).
- 29.4. NM14530, probably not a figurine.
- 29.5. Lower legs and feet of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (NM14529).
- 29.6. Feet and lower legs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (NM14532).
- 29.7. Torso of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (NM14527).
- 29.8. Lower (or possibly upper) legs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (NM14531).
- 29.9. Torso of a standing figure related to the folded-arm figure series (NM14514).
- 29.10. Lower part of folded-arm figurine of Spedos or Chalandriani variety (NM13490).

LIST OF TABLES

- | | | | |
|-------|--|-------|---|
| 2.1. | Period names and approximate calendar dates used in this chapter. | 30.1. | Intact and fragmentary figurines from contexts discussed in this volume. |
| 3.1. | Marble features of the figurine from the Acropolis and vessels from Makronisos determined by non-invasive examination. | 30.2. | Intact and fragmentary figurines from contexts in the Cyclades. |
| 27.1. | Fine chronology of the Chalcolithic and EB phases at Miletus. | 30.3. | Intact and fragmentary figurines from contexts in Crete. |
| 27.2. | Local and imported figurines from Miletus IIC-d and IIIa. | 30.4. | Intact and fragmentary figurines of folded-arm, schematic and other types from the Cyclades, Crete, and the rest of the Aegean. |

PREFACE

Marisa Marthari, Colin Renfrew and Michael J. Boyd

The symposium held in Athens on 'Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context' in May 2014 (now published: Marthari *et al.* 2017) prompted the organisation of a second symposium, on 25th and 26th May 2015, on the theme 'Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context from beyond the Cyclades: mainland Greece, the north and east Aegean'. In parallel, a separate symposium on 'Cycladica in Crete' was held in Athens in October 2015 (also now published: Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2017). These two symposia aimed systematically to survey the evidence for Cycladic sculpture in archaeological contexts from beyond the Cyclades. The publication of the present volume, in combination with the two volumes that have preceded it, brings to completion the work of publishing all the contextualised Cycladic material from the Aegean.

In this volume, the material presented at the 2015 symposium is enhanced by the addition of a paper on figurines from the site of Asteria in Attica (Kaza-Papageorgiou this volume), a figurine from Rhodes (Hadji this volume), and a paper presenting new material from Ano Kouphonisi in the Cyclades (Legaki *et al.* this volume), discovered only after *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context* went to press. In keeping with the approach established in the preceding volume, all sculptures here are presented at a scale of 1:2 to allow for easy comparison.

The editors would like to express their thanks to the Secretary General of the Archaeological Society at Athens,

Dr Vassileios Petrakos, for making the Archaeological Society at Athens available for the meeting, and to Mrs Dora Vassilikou, member of the Board of the Society, for much valued assistance. The editors would also like to thank Dr Alkestis Papadimitriou, Director of the Ephorate of Antiquities for the Argolid, Dr Eleni Andrikou, Director of the Ephorate of Antiquities for East Attica, Dr Angeliki Simosi, Director of the Ephorate of Antiquities for Euboea, and Dr Efi Karatzali, Director of the Ephorate of Antiquities for Phthiotis and Evritania, for their valuable assistance and support. We also thank the participants for their valuable contributions and their patience during the editing and publication process.

We are very grateful to the John Templeton Foundation for generous financial assistance for the symposium, and to the Stavros Niarchos Foundation for their generous support for the editing and publication of this volume.

Maria Kosma showed great enthusiasm for the symposium and managed, despite her deteriorating health, to prepare and present a comprehensive and scholarly paper presenting the remarkable new material from Nea Styra in Euboea. She was acutely aware of the particular importance of the site and its Cycladic material, and eagerly wished the latter to be published. She died shortly after presenting her paper. This volume is respectfully dedicated to her memory and her energy, drive and enthusiasm.

1

INTRODUCTION

Colin Renfrew

This volume is the third part of a trilogy of volumes in which the marble sculptures of the Aegean area produced during the 3rd millennium BC that are in what may be termed the ‘Cycladic’ style are systematically reviewed. Each brings together the papers presented at a major conference held in Athens. The first of those conferences, dealing with sculptures actually found in the Cycladic Islands, was held at the Archaeological Society in Athens from 27th to 29th May 2014: the papers there presented have subsequently been published in the volume entitled *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context* (Marthari, Renfrew & Boyd 2017). The second volume to appear, *Cycladica in Crete: Cycladic and Cycladicizing Figurines within their Archaeological Context* (Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2017), arises from the conference held at the Museum of Cycladic Art in Athens on the 1st and 2nd October 2015. This third volume, *Beyond the Cyclades*, arising from the conference, again held at the Archaeological Society in Athens, on the 25th and 26th May 2015 (see Marthari, Renfrew & Boyd 2015) now seeks to present comparable material from the remaining areas of the Aegean: mainland Greece, and the north and east Aegean (Fig. 1.1).

When referring to the ‘Cycladic’ style one is thinking primarily of the series of figurines of marble made in the Cycladic Islands of Greece during the third millennium BC, and specifically of the so-called folded-arm figure, which was aptly termed by Thimme (1976) the ‘canonical form’.

A standard definition (Renfrew 1969, 9–11; see also Renfrew 2017, 35) of the folded-arm figure is as follows:

The head is tilted upward and backward on a short neck, with only the nose indicated among the facial features. Ears and eyes are not normally shown. The figurines are generally female, always naked. The arms are folded at the waist, nearly always right below left. Above them the two breasts are lightly indicated. There is sometimes a horizontal line at the waist, and the pubic triangle is often indicated by incision. The legs, always held together, are often slightly bent at the knees, and the feet (except in the Kapsala and Chalandriani varieties) are inclined, so that the figure, if it was indeed imagined as upright, was standing on tiptoe. There is a marked lack of detail: often only fingers and toes are indicated by incisions, and details, such as ankles, knee caps, navel, ribs or hair, are not shown. The back is extremely simple, with only an incised line for the backbone, and sometimes incisions behind the arms. All the figurines, including the several pregnant ones, are notably slim. In general the figures are very graceful.

Renfrew 1969, 9–11

It is now understood that the sculptures were often decorated with paint, although such decoration rarely survives today. It has proved possible to divide the folded-arm figurines into a number of varieties. Those generally accepted (Renfrew 1969, 15–20; Getz-Preziosi 1987; Getz-Gentle 2001) are the Kapsala, Spedos, Dokathismata, Chalandriani and Koumasa varieties. Largely through the



Figure 1.1 Map showing sites with figurines in the Greek mainland and the Eastern Aegean presented in this volume. Numbers indicate chapter numbers. 2a: Pangali, Mt Varassova; 2b: Leontari Cave; 2c: Agia Triada Cave; 3: Acropolis, Athens; 4: Aghios Kosmas; 5: Koropi; 6: Tsepi; 7: Brauron; 8: Loutsa; 9: Aegaleo; 10: Mandra; 11: Nea Kephisia; 12: Asteria; 13: Delpriza; 14: Apollo Maleatas, Epidaurus; 15: Ano Epidaurus; 16: Argos; 17: Thermi, Lesbos; 18: Thebes; 19, 20: Manika; 21: Nea Styra; 22: Palamari, Skyros; 23: Proskynas; 24: Vathy, Astypalaia; 25: Mesaria, Kos; 26: Kremasti, Rhodes; 27: Miletus; 28a: Liman Tepe; 28b: Bakla Tepe; 29: Loutra, Ano Kouphonisi.

work of Pat Getz-Gentle (2001; see Getz-Preziosi 1987) it has been possible to sub-divide these into a further series of sub-varieties. Some of these were originally put forward using sculptures first documented in museums and private collections which do not come from a secure context: there are grounds for caution here, as there are many fakes in museums and private collections. The following sub-varieties are recognised here:

- Spedos variety: Kavos sub-variety (= 'Goulandris Master' of Getz-Gentle). See Sotirakopoulou, Renfrew & Boyd 2017, 363–7.
- Spedos and Dokathismata variety: Akrotiri sub-variety (= 'Schuster Master' of Getz-Gentle). See Sotirakopoulou, Renfrew & Boyd 2017, 358–63.
- Chalandriani variety: Kea sub-variety: see Renfrew & Boyd 2017, 390–92; formerly (Renfrew 1969, 18) termed the 'Kea variety'.

- Chalandriani variety: Special Deposit North sub-variety (= 'Stafford Master' or 'Louvre Master' of Getz-Gentle): see Renfrew 2018a, 15–16.

In addition, it seems useful now to recognise the Keros variety (sometimes termed the 'post-canonical' variety): see Renfrew 2018b, 34. The term 'post-canonical' is not preferred here, implying a chronological distinction which, while plausible, cannot usually be documented stratigraphically or contextually.

Recent work has emphasised how influential the folded-arm figurine type was in much of the Aegean, as the present volume illustrates. The position is particularly clear in Crete, as now well-exemplified by Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou (2017) in their useful and well-documented volume. There it is well-established that the Koumasa variety (see Renfrew 1969; Renfrew 2017b) was a form

produced exclusively in Crete, apparently in imitation of the canonical Cycladic folded-arm figurine. All the known findspots of this variety are in Crete, where several imports of folded-arm figurines of other varieties (and probably brought directly from the Cyclades) are recognised.

In mainland Greece, as in western Anatolia, figurines of marble are quite widely found which may be described as 'schematic' in form. Lacking in detail, they are often flat and rather thin – sometimes referred to as 'Brettidolen'. Yet, while several of the folded-arm sculptures found in Attica and Euboea are so similar to pieces found in the Cyclades, often of the Spedos variety, as to be plausible as imports, that is not the case with many of the schematic sculptures. Examples with long necks, sometimes also with facial features, for example from Aghios Kosmas in Attica (Kostanti & Christopoulou this volume) or from Euboea (Sapouna-Sakelleraki this volume; Sampson & Hadji this volume) do not always have precise Cycladic analogues. They may well be of local manufacture. Indeed, there is a case with some of these schematic figurines of marble for questioning whether they indicate any Cycladic influence at all, instead deriving in some cases from local prototypes of earlier date. Some of these matters are further discussed in Chapter 2 and in the final chapter.

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Before the Bronze Age

PAST IN THE PAST: EXAMPLES OF NEOLITHIC FIGURINES FROM MAINLAND GREECE AND EARLY CYCLADIC ANTHROPOMORPHIC IMAGERY

Fanis Mavridis

A widely acknowledged temporal entanglement

A significant number of anthropomorphic figurines dating to the Late Neolithic I and II (hereafter LN; see Table 2.1), coming from different regions (Fig. 2.1), characteristic examples of which are presented below, indicates that: 1) an abstract representation of the human body (both in clay and stone) becomes dominant; and 2) many of these figurines share significant similarities with the Early Cycladic (hereafter EC) examples.

The connection between the Neolithic cultures of mainland Greece (*e.g.* Thessaly) and the Cyclades, based on different categories of material remains, was identified long ago by scholars such as Benton (1947, 167) or Weinberg (1951, 130–32). For the canonical type of EC figurines in particular, prototypes were considered to have been provided by the Dimini culture (Renfrew 1969, 31). In the exhibition catalogue of the so-called ‘Neolithic treasure of gold objects’ exhibited at the National Archaeological Museum, several other objects were presented, including anthropomorphic marble figurines from Thessaly (Demakopoulou 1998). They were characterised as very closely connected to EC figurines, raising questions regarding the origins not only of the EC

Table 2.1 Period names and approximate calendar dates used in this chapter (where the term ‘earlier Neolithic’ is used to refer to both the Early and Middle Neolithic). For the terminology used, see Mavridis & Sørensen 2006; Mavridis & Tankosić 2016a. For the Neolithic absolute dates and the Early Cycladic alternative terminological and chronological systems, see Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2011a, 20–21.

Early Neolithic	6800–5800
Middle Neolithic	5800–5300
Late Neolithic I	5300–4300
Late Neolithic II	4300–3200
Early Cycladic I	3200–2800
Early Cycladic I–II	2800–2700
Early Cycladic II	2700–2300
Early Cycladic III	2300–2000

anthropomorphic imagery but of the EC culture in general (Tsivilika 2008, 78). The present paper aims to explore the character of these widely accepted similarities between the Later Neolithic and the EC figurines (Fig. 2.2): the former are not identical to the latter but constitute a part of a wider scheme. We assume as no coincidence the fact that after the end of the Neolithic, anthropomorphic figurines are



Figure 2.1 Map of sites with material presented in the text. 1. Pangali, Mt Varassova, Aetoloakarnania; 2. Leontari Cave, Hymettos, Attica; 3. Agia Triada Cave, Karystos, Euboea.

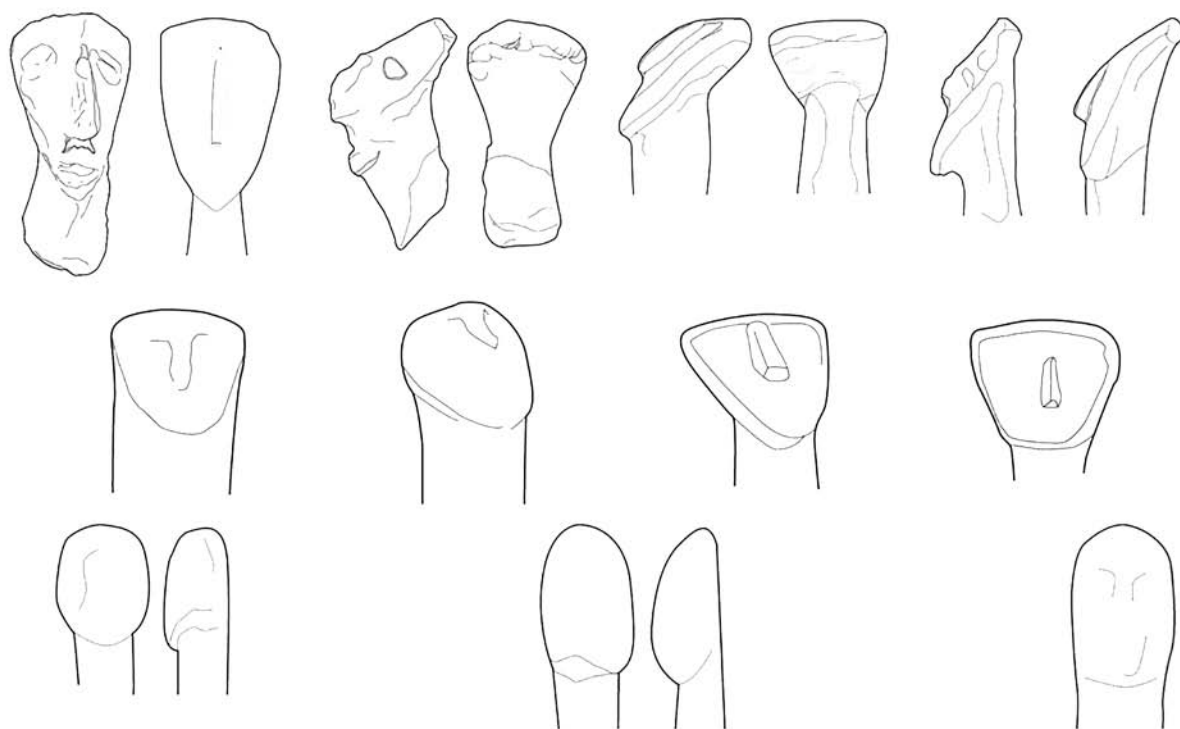


Figure 2.2 Sketch of Neolithic and EC figurines. Not to scale.

of much importance only in the Cyclades. Hourmouziadis' (1973, 206) comment that figurines are no longer present in the Bronze Age, which means that something else replaced them, is of relevance here. Is it possible that this replacement never happened in the Cyclades? Also, there is growing evidence which gradually connects the Neolithic with the EBA in the Cyclades (Mavridis 2008; 2009; 2017a; 2018) not only on the basis of figurines but also in other aspects of symbolic and ideological expression (rock art, the suggested connection of ring idols to frying pans, etc.; see Televantou 2008; 2017). As a consequence, we cannot but wonder if the particular characteristics identified in the EC culture, making its material remains identifiable in every context all over the Aegean (sometime from the transitional EC I–II phase onwards, see a review in Mavridis 2002), could have been related to a wider 'deep time' historical process evident in the material culture.

It may, therefore, be possible for the study of the marble figurines to provide information related to the social histories of insular societies based on the notion that places, artefacts and people are bound together in a relational temporal network of meanings (Jones 2005, 233). Until new key sites come to light to complement sites such as Strofilas, it is important systematically to address similar issues with the archaeological evidence currently available. Even if not many EC figurines from secure contexts are available (Renfrew 2017a with further references, for the Neolithic see also Gallis & Orphanidis 1996; Orphanidis & Gallis 2011; Orphanidis & Malakasioti 2011) there might be a way in which these artefacts could be re-introduced in some sense to the social context to which they originally belonged.

How we think about the temporalities of the past (Thomas 1996, 52, 60) is an important issue here. Therefore, concepts such as tradition, memory, agency and practice (based on the work of Bourdieu 1977; Hobsbawm 1983; Giddens 1984; Barth 1987, among others), widely applied in archaeological and anthropological debate, could support such an effort. Other concepts such as transmission (see for example, Küchler 1987; Eerkens & Lipo 2007) or citation (see applications in prehistoric contexts in Borić 2002; Nanoglou 2006) may also be relevant. What follows it is not an attempt to incorporate all these aspects in our analysis but simply an effort to open up the discussion on temporality as a means of understanding continuity as a historical process transformed and re-created by people in the present (Feuchtwang & Rowlands 2010, 118–19). The establishment of a cultural stratigraphy of action (Malafouris 2008, 31) could be of much help in understanding this dynamic process of temporal connection. These research questions become more relevant in the light of recent discoveries at the site of Akrotiri on Thera revealing the use of EC marble objects in later contexts (widely reported in the press in late 2018).

Neolithic and EC figurines: stylistic attributes, groups and similarities

Classification schemes of the EC figurines identify their ancestry in the Neolithic on the basis of specific lines of evolution or traits transmitted from an older type to a new one (Renfrew 1969; Getz-Gentle 1994, 20; 2001, 12–13).

The Plastiras group, for example, has been seen as rooted in the LN standing image (Getz-Gentle 2001, 7) while the Louros type has been related to Neolithic examples known from Thessaly (Stampolidis 2006, 37–8) or, generally, to the schematic figurines of the Neolithic period (Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2011b, 74; also Renfrew 1991, fig. 5; Getz-Gentle 2001, 12–13; Televantou 2017). Generally, basic characteristics of the EC I and II figurines such as the standing position, the arrangement of the arms, the emphasis on the nose, the long neck, the shape of the tilting head in varieties such as Chalandriani and Spedos, are all considered elements present in earlier traditions. These traits are evident in, for example, the shape and other elements of the clay head (Fig. 2.9) from the Agia Triada Cave (see further below), the long neck of examples from Ftelia on Mykonos (Sampson & Mastrogiannopoulou 2017), or the tilting head of examples from the Leontari Cave in Attica, described below (Fig. 2.5). However, in other cases, it becomes difficult to identify direct relationships of elements. For example, Televantou (2017) in her presentation of the Strofilas figurines discusses examples that share common elements with both the violin and Louros types or with the Louros, Plastiras and Kapsala types. Such examples (many more exist, dating to both the Neolithic and EC periods; they are usually characterised as hybrid, see for example Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2011b, 72) indicate the difficulties present in the identification of direct prototypes. Moreover, the anthropomorphic protome handle with an emphasis on the nose, the long neck and tilting head coming from the Agia Triada Cave in Karystos securely dated to LN I (Mavridis & Tankosić 2009; 2016a; Mavridis 2017a) but with similarities to the LN II Kephala type, further indicates the complicated nature of the origins of typological traits. In this respect, we believe that the dominant picture of the Saliagos and Kephala figurines as ancestral to the EC ones needs to be reconsidered since a wider range of 'ancestral types' is now available: not only in the Cyclades (Sampson & Mastrogiannopoulou 2017; Televantou 2017; Sotirakopoulou 2008, fig. 14.18), but also in other regions (see below). It has been shown elsewhere (Mavridis 2009; 2017a; 2018) that the Neolithic Cyclades were not isolated but connected with mainland and other island settings, and the founders of settlements originated from adjacent regions. Also, if we accept a direct relationship between the Neolithic prototypes and specific EC varieties, between for

example the Plastiras type and the naturalistic Neolithic ones such as that known from Saliagos (Renfrew 2017b), we cannot but wonder where exactly the contemporaneous Ftelia site fits in this scheme with a different group of figurines present. This approach, at least indirectly, implies the transmission of typological elements between specific identity (ethnic?) cores without any explanation of the character of the processes involved. It is important to refer here to the widely accepted notion that there is no one-to-one relationship between the material culture and the expression of ethnic identity (*e.g.* Jones 1996).

In relation to the EC figurines, traditions or workshops have been identified and ‘a development of EC sculpture within the context of successive cultural phases distinguishing a number of varieties’ (Renfrew 2017a). More detailed classifications into sculptors or masters (Getz-Gentle 2001) are also available (see detailed discussion in Renfrew 2017a). Due the small number of paradigms coming from secure contexts, other scholars have proposed that different types could have been contemporaneous (Gill & Chippindale 1993, 627). Also, the ‘masters’ scheme may be related to regional groups (von Bothmer 1984, 73) or more generally that some kind of localized associations existed (Sherratt 2000, 126). Beyond general or more specific lines of similarity between Neolithic and EC figurines what remains difficult to explain is the chronological gap of a millennium between the EC types such as the Plastiras group and the Neolithic ones (*e.g.* Getz-Gentle 2001, 7), or the presence in EC II of specific affinities present in the Neolithic but absent during EC I.

In this context, beyond typological similarities and other common elements (*e.g.* the use of marble), important interrelated parameters and questions need be taken into consideration every time there is a suggestion of specific classifications and groupings on either the horizontal or the vertical axis. From the brief discussion presented above, it becomes apparent that there is still free space for the development of new approaches related to the long term-diachronic component of social formation (Connerton 1989, 103) and to the ways that styles were constructed by referencing earlier ones (Hodder 1995, 164).

The later Neolithic evidence and aspects of the material properties of marble figurines

In an effort to shed light on the reasons why the past assumed such importance in specific societies (Bradley 2003, 223), as is argued here to be the case for the EBA Cyclades, a good starting point could be the identification of any interrelated evidence in the Later Neolithic phases.

The transformations observed during the period from at least the middle of the 5th millennium onwards in several aspects of material culture production, circulation and consumption involving figurines as well as in the use of space (Mavridis & Sørensen 2006; Mavridis 2015; 2018) seem to be of crucial importance for this line of reasoning. This period is considered as one during which a new relationship with the past emerged (Bailey 1997; 2000; Chapman 1997a; 1997b; 2000; Kotsakis 1999; Nanoglou 2001), in which a pre-occupation with descent or origin (Nanoglou 2008, 329) takes a new importance.

During the Later Neolithic phases of the Greek mainland stone figurines and particularly those made of marble take on a new significance. The example of Makrygialos site in Pieria is very indicative of this (Nanoglou & Pappa 2009). During phase I only three marble figurines were present among the 121 recovered, while in phase II 63 were made of stone and 47 from clay (Nanoglou & Pappa 2009, 251). The use of marble for the manufacture of these highly standardised and schematised representations of the human body (Mina 2008, 228) has been considered a shift in emphasis onto the surface of these objects (Nanoglou & Pappa 2009, 258). The use at the same time of clay and stone, sometimes combined together as in the case of the acrolith figurines, has been interpreted as a distinction that points towards human beings of two different qualities (Nanoglou & Pappa 2009, 258). This distinction is clearly evident in the case of the figurines found at the Leontari Cave in Attica (Karali *et al.* 2018). Clay figurines of the Kephala type and others with ‘Cycladic affinities’ were intentionally placed close together in specific contexts forming a coherent group, while the ones made of stone (marble or otherwise) were deposited separately without other figurines associated with them (Karali *et al.* 2018).

Contrary to the active body of the earlier Neolithic phases, the human body in the Later Neolithic is rather static, indicating a process of re-articulation of the previous tradition with a proliferation in the use of marble as well as in iconographic traits (Nanoglou 2008, 319, 321; Mina 2008, 217–18). It has been suggested that in the later Neolithic, interest was relocated to other parts of the human body, such as the enlarged head, while it is of interest that stone figurines never had the flat bases seen in the clay examples (Nanoglou 2005, 150–1; 2008, 326). These changes have been related to an already acquired knowledge, an identity that was predetermined (Nanoglou 2005, 150–1); or alternatively to an identity that is flexible, under negotiation and in transformation (Karali *et al.* 2018). Clay figurines were still of importance (note here the exceptional case of the Sarakenos Cave in Boeotia: Orphanidis & Sampson 2015), however, they were also becoming standardised (Nanoglou 2008, 319, 324). The same pattern also applies to Cycladic Neolithic figurines. Clay figurines were present along

with those of stone (see for example Ftelia on Mykonos: Orphanidis 2002; Sampson & Mastrogiannopoulou 2017; or Minoa on Amorgos: Leventopoulou 1996, 321; Maragou 2002, 7). It may not be a coincidence that most of these clay figurines show some anatomical characteristics and cannot be considered as depicting an absolutely abstract form of the human figure when compared to the stone examples. Similarly, from the group of the Late Neolithic II figurines found at the Leontari Cave, only one item made of clay bears some anatomical characteristics, with the majority made of both clay and stone belonging to the abstract category (Karali *et al.* 2018). In the EC period, all traits of Neolithic figurines being of ‘Cycladic character’, both in clay and stone, are crafted almost exclusively in marble.

It seems therefore that it is not only the monumentality of tells, or the day-to-day practice of rebuilding (Bailey 1997; 2000; Chapman 1997a; 1997b; 2000; Borić 2002, 50), that encapsulates how memory and the past was expressed but portable objects as well, especially in the context of the establishment of new settlements in island settings. Networks were created through the exchange of artefacts and the physical presence of long-distant traditions (Jones 2007, 120). It may be a case in which artefacts were not simply carved into stone but drawn out of stone, representing an important relationship between image production and remembrance (Jones 2007, 176).

The shifting emphasis on different details of the human body has been related to the different traditions and space-times that people were reiterating, citing and rehearsing (Nanoglou 2006, 193). These transformations evident in the use and meaning of material culture, including figurines, as well as use of space were of particular importance for the establishment of new sites in the Cyclades and other islands, as part and consequence of the historical circumstances of a changing world (Mavridis 2018). New arenas for the negotiation and transformation of social identities were under creation (Hamilakis 2003). During this process of expansion to new territories these ideas and symbolic structures were important for connecting people to the new lands, and creating identities based on seafaring activities, as the evidence from Strofilas indicates. Tradition under these circumstances seems to have played a vital role. It is a case in which artefacts were used to transform a temporal phenomenon into a concrete spatial one (Jones 2007, 42; also Gosden 1994, 61). It has been proposed that the materiality (see for example, De Marrais *et al.* 2004; Miller 2005) of the past has long-term consequences in the lives of numerous generations (Meskell 2007, 24). We could further note here that most of the figurines from mainland Greece with similarities to EC examples do not belong to the end of the Neolithic; during FN they are not prevalent and only re-appear during EB I (Alram-Stern 2014, 311). Archaeological evidence indicates that marble figurines re-

appear only in very early EBA contexts in the Cyclades or assemblages with ‘strong Cycladic elements’ such as Tsepi in Attica (Pantelidou Gofa 2008; this volume). Since tradition is directly related to historical processes, discontinuities may appear (Barth 1990, 80; Tilley 1999, 266; Nanoglou 2006, 172) as well as cultural variations, especially when different sources are involved (Fortier 2001, 180), which is something also related to the constant invocation and re-interpretation of specific traits (see for example, Borić 2002, 48). It has been considered that by constructing bricolages of different elements coming from different sources, agents are true followers of ancestral ways (Tilley 1999, 256; for the concept of bricolage see Jones 1996, 72; Russell 2005, 33–41).

Future research in the Cyclades or other contexts could systematically investigate the material properties and qualities of the material culture (Jones 2004, 329) as well as the performative capacities of materials in relation to the concept of tradition. The production of objects follows protocols; shape and form afford particular types of activities and technical processes (Callon 1991, 136; also Hodder 2014) in the extraction of the raw material, its movement from sources to the production, distribution, consumption and deposition processes (Jones 2007, 22; Russell 2005, 38; Jones 2004, 330). These include, according to some views, aspects of memorialisation (Jones 2005, 233). It has also been suggested that raw materials come from parts of the environment associated with the social, ancestral and spirit realms (Tilley 1999, 61). Unfortunately, there is currently no evidence (but for provenance see Tambakopoulos & Maniatis 2012; 2017; 2018) related to the production of marble objects in the Cyclades (Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2011b, 64). It may be of some interest to note that in Western Anatolia during the Chalcolithic period sites oriented towards the production of stone vases and Kylia-type figurines have been identified (Takaoğlu 2005), while more evidence for the presence of marble objects is coming to light (see papers in Dietz *et al.* 2018, also relevant discussion in Renfrew 1972, 166; Takaoğlu 2004).

In a more general view, material culture needs to be understood temporally in its actional and biographical context (Tilley 1999, 264), since it not only reflects but also constructs and challenges social reality (Knappett & Malafouris 2008, xiii–xiv). Some objects may even be perceived as agents in themselves with appreciable timelines and active trajectories (Meskell 2003, 45).

A dynamic nature of tradition or tradition as a historical process

What has been described thus far is a dynamic concept of historical tradition (Conkey 1990; Sackett 1990; Rees 2001) that relies on active agent-centred frameworks, with a

continual re-working of meanings (Scarry 2001, 94 with further references). It has been stated that the past can be considered of vital importance for specific societies and that material culture is actively involved in processes of remembrance. The overall picture of the later Neolithic social and ideological transformations evident in the use and meaning of material culture presents a background of social trajectories that lead to the formation of specific social and ideological structures creating a background for colonisation processes. A dynamic notion of the concept of tradition can be used to explore how material culture creates traditions (Gosden 1994, 7, 31). In the early Cyclades we may envisage an aspect of tradition in the form of becoming (Lightfoot 2001, 230). Cosmology and tradition provided a way of coping with new environments, through which people were able both to move forward in the present while attached to the past (Jones 2007, 100).

Tradition is polysemous in definition (Lightfoot 2001, 239) and has been considered something old-fashioned, simply representing learned ways of doing things, allowing the group to survive (Pauketat 2001, 1). The primary meaning of the term tradition is to capture continuity (see discussion in Rowlands & Kristensen 1998) in human affairs, as it refers both to the activity of handing down the cultural heritage from one generation to the next and to what is actually handed down: customs, beliefs, rituals, rules, etc. (Otto & Pedersen 2005, 7). A cultural tradition (Gell 1998, 251) is usually defined as a series of similar stylistic attributes related to collective memory (Lucas 2005, 77–8).

However, uses of the past in the past and concepts such as tradition are not necessarily opposed to notions of agency or practice (see discussion in Wesson 2001, 94–106). The past is not an inflexible given, it is under continuous interpretation and negotiation (Yadgar 2013, 456; see also Ingold 2000, 148) emerging as a dynamic meta-structure into which people are bound and through which a sense of the world is acquired (Yadgar 2013, 456). Tradition is the symbolic construction of community through the past (Tilley 1999, 255); a product of the codes creating cultural knowledge (Rowlands 2007). Tradition plays the role of a repository of a vast accumulation of meaning and experience that is preserved in time and transmitted into the future (Berger & Luckmann 1967, 52).

This reading of tradition clearly shows that it is not a monolithic concept, since power, plurality and human agency are all part of how traditions come about (Pauketat 2001, 1). Moreover, terms such as tradition, social transformation, strategies, power, ideology, plurality, citation, relationality, etc. cannot easily fit into a framework of unchanged *in situ* populations with material culture imposed in a gradualist evolutionary transformation of unbroken sequences (Shanks & Tilley 1987, 175; Emerson & McElrath 2001, 203; Lightfoot 2001, 240).

A dynamic tradition concept is useful in our analysis, since it clearly indicates the complexity of past realities and a way to approach uses of the past in the past. It is thus important to understand the properties of tradition and how belief systems were produced and reproduced.

A cultural stratigraphy of action

A framework is applied here to explore alternative ways of identity construction, with history and place playing a major role (see Jones 1996, 63). This is possible with the expansion of the EC continuum into the Late Neolithic (see also Mertens 1998, 9). It is not an effort to reject established classificatory schemes but rather one that tries to re-negotiate their content and meaning. Figurines, as part of the materiality of each period, belong to the category of objects used to express, maintain, negotiate and contest identities and realities. Especially after the second half of the 5th millennium, social identities were under negotiation and transformation, and changes observed in the qualities of the human body could have been part of this process. We just cannot yet, beyond speculation, understand how exactly they adjusted to this general frame.

A generalised phenomenon apparent in the Late Neolithic Aegean is the human expansion into seascapes. New sites appear which seem to become arenas for the expression of new identities and the re-negotiation of power and social roles (Hamilakis 2003; Mavridis & Sørensen 2006; Mavridis 2018). Within this general framework, the Final Neolithic site of Strofilas provides the strongest direct evidence thus far for the temporal connectivity of preceding Late Neolithic II and the subsequent Early Bronze Age. The association of frying pans with ring-shaped pendants, the depiction of the sea (spirals), ships and fish among other elements (Televantou 2008; 2017) are all part of a symbolic language and an ideology related to the sea, seafaring activities and possibly the expansion to new territories. From the plurality of Late Neolithic background reflected in the figurine production among other elements, during EC I and EC II the past was again re-created to meet the current historical necessities and needs. It is of interest that during EC II from about 2700 BC to as late as 2200 BC a more stylised form of the human figure is present, together with other attributes (Sherratt 2000, 127; Getz-Gentle 2001, 3; but see Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2011b, 72). The expansion of the EC culture from almost late EB I and during EB II to the rest of the Aegean, an expansion that is now directed out from the islands in opposition to the Neolithic processes that were directed towards seascapes, represents a remodelling of past successful ways of life and ideologies for current needs (Mavridis 2018). It cannot but be considered as a long-term process (see Feuchtwang & Rowlands 2010) of social

reproduction (see for this aspect Lightfoot 2001, 242). In this respect, different phases and sub-phases of the Late Neolithic and the EBA were part of different social realities belonging to the social structures and ideologies of their time.

Moreover, in the EBA Cyclades, figurines were mostly buried in cemeteries (see papers related to the presence of figurines in cemeteries and settlement sites in Marthari *et al.* 2017), while they were also deposited in fragmentary condition in the two special deposits at Kavos on Keros, related therefore with ritual practices (Renfrew 2017a). As a working hypothesis we could argue that in becoming inaccessible and being taken out of circulation they were creating differential knowledge based on memory (see Rowlands 1993, 144; also Lillios 2003, 129–50). It is a process which could not have been related to the duration of the objects themselves but to visual remembrance, having as a result the production of a range of images and variations (see discussion of anthropological parallels in Küchler 1987, 239).

Examples from mainland Greece and Euboea

Pangali, Mt Varassova, Aetoloakarnania

The site of Pangali (Fig. 2.1) is situated on the eastern slopes of Mt. Varassova in Aetoloakarnania on a saddle formed by a pointed and steep ridge that terminates at the coast, opening into a small natural bay (Mavridis & Sørensen 2006, 117). A small trial trench opened indicated the presence of three layers relating to a single cultural phase. According to the pottery characteristics and the radiocarbon dates available, the site belongs to the later part of LN I (between 4460–4330 BC: Heinemeier 2006, 196–8) which can be placed just prior to the appearance of pattern burnished ware (see Mavridis & Sørensen 2006; Zachos 2008). The pottery assemblage, with a characteristic incised ware present, is related to sites such as Kastria Cave (Sampson 1997), Aghios Dimitrios (Zachos 2008) and Prosymna (Blegen 1937) in the Peloponnese. The site is of great importance for understanding transformations in the use and meaning of material culture during the later Neolithic phases (absence of painted pottery for example), as well as changing patterns in the use of space (Mavridis & Sørensen 2006; Mavridis 2018). A characteristic element of the period is the accumulation of large amounts of material at sites not previously used (at Pangali 60 kg and 862 g of pottery came respectively from a trench measuring 2 m × 2 m and a deposit 1 m deep: see Mavridis & Sørensen 2006, 119; Mavridis 2018). Bone tools (Sørensen 2006, 156) and clay spindle whorls (Mavridis & Sørensen 2006, 130) were also detected. The site is also characterised by the presence of finished and unfinished chipped stone tools, among which is a characteristic group of tanged and



Figure 2.3 Stone figurine. Panglai, Mt Varassova, Aetoloakarnania. Scale 1:2.

barbed points (Sørensen 2006, 134–6). It is of interest that animal bones coming from wild game represent about 19% of the total assemblage (Bangsgaard 2006, 163; for the social significance of hunting during these phases see Hamilakis 2003; Mavridis & Sørensen 2006, 134–5). Since the excavation as well as the intensive survey conducted in the area provided no evidence for earlier or later use of the site, the date of the figurine within the time-range given by the absolute dates seems safe.

Stone figurine (MAgr1545; Fig. 2.3)

Pangali, Mt Varassova, Aetoloakarnania (surface find).

Date: Second part of the 5th millennium BC.

Preserved height 58 mm, preserved width 28 mm, thickness 5–16 mm

The stone figurine from Pangali (Fig. 2.3) is made of a soft, soapy stone, most probably limestone. It preserves part of the long neck and the head. The surface is smoothed. Its back surface is flat. The head has an elongated rounded shape and a general inclination to the back. No details of the face are present. Head ends at a rather pointed edge. The semi-circular neck widens symmetrically towards lower preserved part. Small incisions are evident in the head on both faces, especially towards upper part. Surface is smooth: vertical traces (parallel lines) of smoothing are preserved, especially in the frontal part. Close parallels come from the Corycian Cave (Touchais 1981, fig. 32.417, 418, 419). Similarities with several other Late Neolithic and EC examples can be traced.

Moschos & Mavridis 2012.

Leontari Cave, Mt Hymettos, Attica

The Leontari Cave was excavated between 2003–2007 as a co-operative project between Athens University and the Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology (Karali *et al.* 2005; 2006). It is located (Fig. 2.1) on the eastern slopes of Korakovouni, the northern summit of Mt Hymettos, at an elevation of 550 m above sea level. The southeast orientation of the rather low but wide entrance offers a spectacular view over the fertile

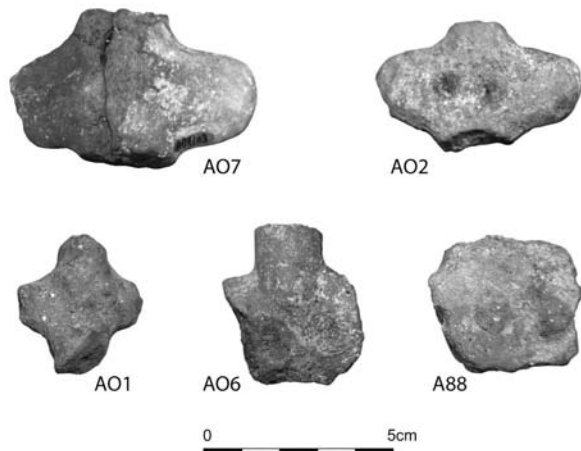


Figure 2.4 Clay torsos. Leontari Cave, Hymettos Mt Attica. Scale 1:2.

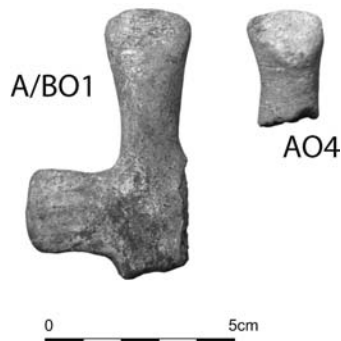


Figure 2.5 Clay figurines with Cycladic affinities. Leontari Cave, Hymettos, Attica. Scale 1:2.

Mesogaia Plain and the east coast of the Attic peninsula as far as southern Euboea. Absolute dates and pottery indicate use during the 5th and 4th millennia BC (Karali *et al.* 2018, table 3). The cave yielded a total of 15 figurines, found in contexts associated with structures (placed under stone-paved floors) and other material remains. The typological analysis of the figurines has led to a number of meaningful assumptions, revealing both affinities and variety in semiotic traditions. Four main groups can be distinguished, including some bearing similarities with the Neolithic and EBA figurines of the Cyclades: one group comprises five female clay figurines that preserve the torso, breasts and neck or arms (Fig. 2.4). One can find close parallels with the clay figurines recovered at the Kephala cemetery on the island of Kea (Coleman 1977, pl. 72) and other sites (*e.g.* Kitsos Cave: Lambert 1981, 396; Sarakenos Cave: Orphanidis & Sampson 2015, 245). A second category consists of two schematic examples with characteristic Cycladic affinities (Fig. 2.5). The first preserves a round neck and a roughly triangular head sloping backwards. Parallels can be found in the Sarakenos Cave in Boeotia (Orphanidis & Sampson 2015, 145).

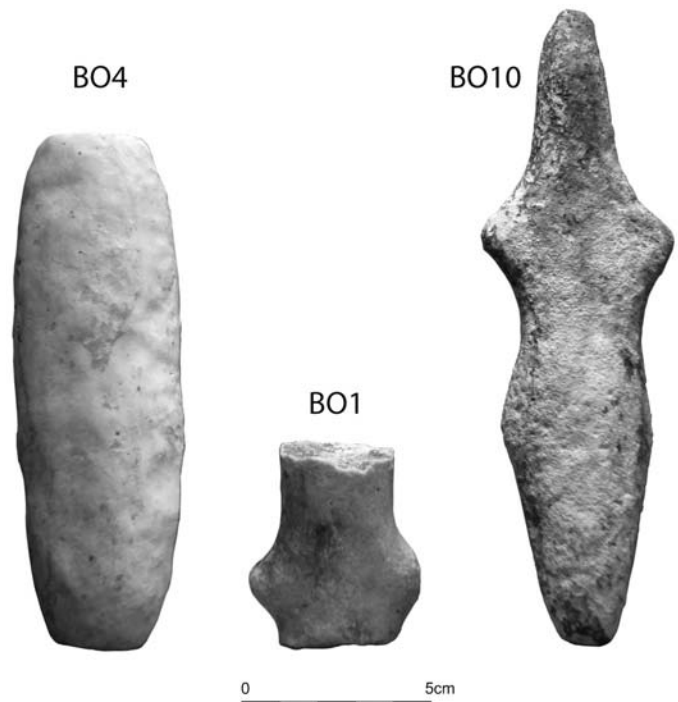


Figure 2.6 Stone figurines. Leontari Cave, Hymettos, Attica. Scale 1:2.

The second figurine preserves an almost triangular head with a strong backward inclination, a long cylindrical neck, a flap-like arm and part of the body. Some of its characteristics are reminiscent of the Louros type of the Early Cycladic I period (Karali *et al.* 2018).

Of the remaining figurines, one was made of marble and two of other types of stone (Fig. 2.6). The marble example (BO1) preserves the base of a thick neck, the torso and two small pyramidal- or mastoid-like projections for arms. Part of the beginning of the lower part is also evident. The second (BO10), made of a porous, soft stone, is intact. It has an elongated neck that thins out at the end and two triangular protrusions as arms. The figurine becomes thinner at the waist and thicker at the pelvis. Legs are not formed but the lower part is compact, gradually becoming thinner towards its triangular apex. They both find close parallels to schematic stone figurines known from sites of Thessaly (Gallis & Orphanidis 1996, 386, 388, 390; Tsountas 1908, table 37, nos 4–5, 12; Skafida 1992, 168), and Makrygialos in Pieria (Nanoglou & Pappa 2009, fig. 3) among other regions. A third stone figurine (BO4) represents an irregularly shaped piece of white stone which, despite its differences with the well-known acrolith type of figurines, seems to correlate with them (see for this type Nanoglou 2006, 169). Its width is even throughout. It has been modified to be thinner on what seems to be its lower back surface.

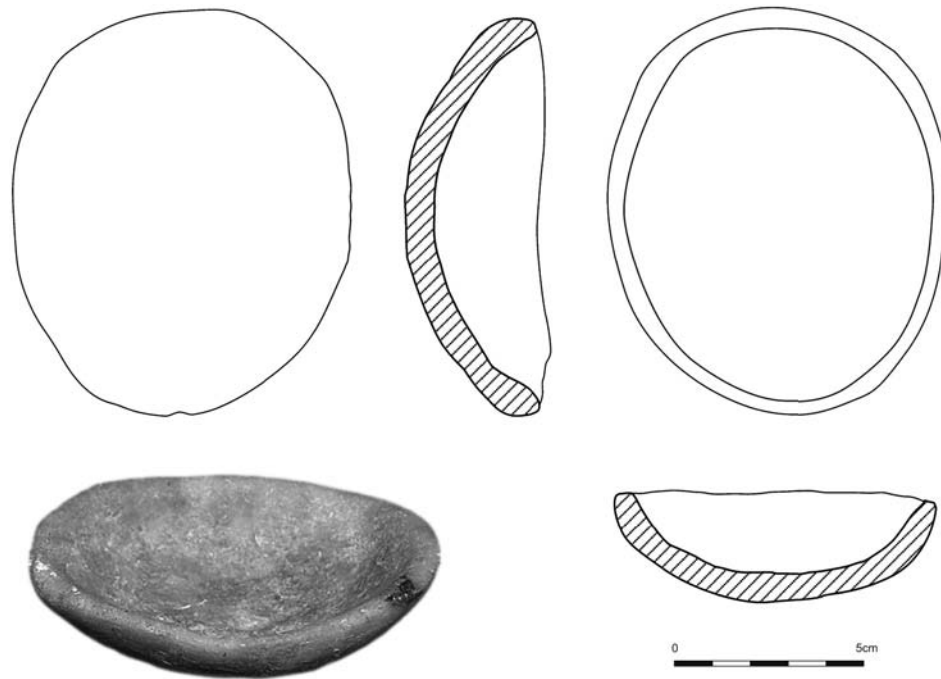


Figure 2.7 Marble bowl. BO10A. LN I. Leontari Cave, Hymettos, Attica. Scale 1:2.

The Cycladic-like heads and the Kephala-like torsos were deposited together, forming a group, while the stone figurines were found isolated (Karali *et al.* 2018). The ‘Cycladic-type figurines’ were better fired and bear evidence of surface treatment.

In the LN I layers of the same trench that contained most of the figurines, a small marble bowl was also found (Fig. 2.7). It has an oval asymmetrical shape. Its inner surface has traces of burning and irregular depressions.

During the Neolithic, the production of stone vases was restricted. They appear in the archaeological record together with the first clay pots, and become more common during a mature phase of the Early Neolithic (Devetzi 1996, 135; Perlès 2001, 285–7). Marble bowls are present at LN I Saliagos (Evans & Renfrew 1968, 88) while the examples from Kephala on Kea foreshadow the EC production (see Getz-Gentle 1996, 52; Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2011b, 65).

Clay figurine fragment (excavation no. AO1; Fig. 2.4)

Leontari Cave, Hymettos Mountain, Attica. Trench A, layer 5, unit 10, depth 4.45 m

Date: LN II

Height 42 mm, width (with arms) 36 mm, neck base 12 mm × 10 mm, torso lower part 15 × 12 mm

Clay torso with lower part of rounded neck and body, triangular projections for arms. Clay semi-coarse with many inclusions or organic material, micaceous. Surface traces of burning in places, trimming (brown 4/3 7.5 YR, red 4/8 10R in places). Grey core.

Karali *et al.* 2018.

Clay figurine fragment (excavation no. AO2; Fig. 2.4)

Leontari Cave, Hymettos Mountain, Attica. Trench A, layer 5, unit 10, depth 4.41 m

Date: LN II

Height 33 mm, width 57 mm, diameter of neck 20 mm

Clay torso with base of neck and beginning of lower body, two flap-like projections for arms and two mastoid projections. Clay semi-coarse with inclusion (4/8 red 2.5 YR). Grey core.

Karali *et al.* 2018.

Clay figurine fragment (excavation no. A88; Fig. 2.4)

Leontari Cave, Hymettos Mountain, Attica. Trench A, layer 5, unit 11

Date: LN II

Height 42 mm, width 36 mm, neck base 12 × 10 mm, torso lower part 15 × 12 mm

Clay torso with two mastoid projections and two horizontal holes at either side of the torso. Clay coarse with many inclusions of various sizes, micaceous (clay and core 5/3 reddish brown 5Y), surfaces (4/6 red 2.5YR).

Karali *et al.* 2018.

Clay figurine fragment (excavation no. AO6; Fig. 2.4)

Leontari Cave, Hymettos Mountain, Attica. Trench A, layer 5, unit 8, depth 4.30–4.40 m

Date: LN II

Height 45 mm, width 34 mm, neck 18 mm

Clay torso with lower part of cylindrical neck, part of shoulder and traces of two mastoid projections. Traces of surface smoothing (5/3 brown 7.5 YR). Clay with many inclusions, micaceous (4/6 red 2.5 YR). Grey core.

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Clay figurine fragment (excavation no. AO7; Fig. 2.4)

Leontari Cave, Hymettos Mountain, Attica. Trench A, layer 5, unit 8, depth 4.30–4.40 m

Date: LN II

Height 44 mm, width (with arms) 67 mm, torso 24 × 16 mm, neck base 24 × 14 mm

Clay torso with base of neck and lower body part, two flap-like projections as arms. Two pieces. Clay with many small and sporadic larger inclusions. Traces of surface treatment, smoothing and burning (3/1 dark grey 10YR and 5/4 brown 7.5 YR). Grey core. Karali *et al.* 2018.

Clay figurine fragment (excavation no. AO4; Fig. 2.5)

Leontari Cave, Hymettos Mountain, Attica. Trench A, layer 5, unit 10, depth 4.41 m

Date: LNII

Height 29 mm, height of head 22 mm, width of head 19 mm, width of neck 14 mm, neck base 6 × 17 mm

Head and part of the neck of clay figurine with Cycladic affinities. Semi-coarse clay with many stone inclusions, micaceous. Grey core. Smooth surface with possible slip (6/4 light brown 7.5 YR). Karali *et al.* 2018.

Clay figurine fragment (excavation no. A/BO1; Fig. 2.5)

Leontari Cave, Hymettos Mountain, Attica. Trench A, layer 5, unit 10, depth 4.41 m

Date: LN II

Height 73 mm, width of torso 19 mm, height of head 18 mm, width of head 5–23 mm, height of neck 10 mm, width of neck 17 mm

Clay figurine of Cycladic character with triangular head, one flap-like arm and part of the body. Clay well-fired with inclusions, micaceous (5/6 yellowish red 5YR). Rough surface with traces of slip or colour or from excavation environment. Traces of smoothing. Grey core.

Karali *et al.* 2018.

Intact stone figurine (excavation no. BO10; Fig. 2.6)

Leontari Cave, Hymettos Mountain, Attica. Tr. E, layer 1, unit 3, depth 5.8 m

Date: LN II

Height 168 mm, width (with arms) 54 mm, height of neck 44 mm, width at buttocks 44 mm

Intact stone figurine with long neck, triangular projections for arms and solid lower part. Soft porous stone.

Karali *et al.* 2018.

Marble schematic figurine (excavation no. BO1; Fig. 2.6)

Leontari Cave, Hymettos Mountain, Attica. Trench ΣΤ, layer 4, unit 5, depth 4.32 m

Date: LN II

Height 47 mm, width (with arms) 42 mm, neck base 23 × 27 mm, torso lower part 29 × 20 mm

Marble schematic figurine with lower part of thick cylindrical neck, triangular projections for arms and beginning of lower part.

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Stone figurine (excavation no. BO4; Fig. 2.6).

Leontati Cave, Hymettos Mountain, Attica. Trench A, layer 8, unit 10, depth 4.62 m

Date: LN II

Height 133 mm, width 53 mm

Acrolith-like stone figurine. White soft stone.

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Marble bowl (excavation no. BO10A; Fig. 2.7).

Leontari Cave, Mt Hymettos, Attica. Tr. A, layer 10–11, unit 14, depth 5.05 m

Date: LN I

Height 21 mm, thickness 2 mm, diameter 60–73 mm, weight 76.1 g

Small marble bowl of irregular oval shape. Traces of burning and irregular depressions inside.

Previously unpublished.

Agia Triada Cave, Karystia, Southern Euboea

The Agia Triada Cave, near the village of Kalyvia in southern Euboea (Fig. 2.1), was excavated between 2007–2010 by the Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology with the co-operation of the Southern Euboea Exploration Project (Mavridis & Tankosić 2009; 2013). The cave forms part of an active subterranean river system not yet explored for its entire length. It is not suitable for prolonged habitation by even a small group of people, due to its configuration, lack of light, and dampness (Mavridis & Tankosić 2009; 2013). Excavation at the site produced burials dated to EB II as well as layers of the LN I and LN II phases (Mavridis & Tankosić 2016a; 2016b; Mavridis 2017a,b). From the cave, despite burials and other evidence of symbolic character (Mavridis & Tankosić 2016a; 2016b), only two human figurines were found, both made of clay, one dating to LN II and the other forming a lug of a bowl, dating to LN I.

A fragment of a possibly LN II schematic clay figurine (Fig. 2.8) was found in a disturbed layer that included both LN II and EB II material. It preserves a trapezoid torso,

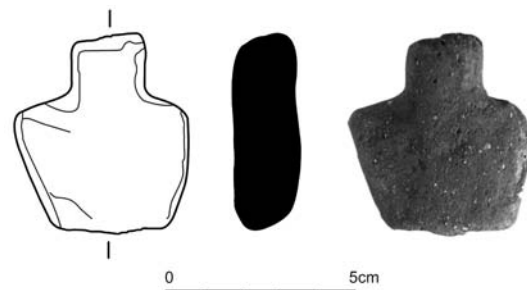


Figure 2.8 Schematic clay figurine C7. LN II. Agia Triada Cave, Karystos, Euboea. Scale 1:2.



Figure 2.9 Bowl with white painted decoration and prosopomorphic handle. A13. Agia Triada Cave, Karystos. Scale 1:2.

widening at shoulders, and the lower part of broken neck, rounded in section. The one shoulder is not completely preserved. There are two shallow hollows in the underside of torso, perhaps for joining legs.

A prosopomorphic handle, part of a bowl (Fig. 2.9), was found below the middle section of a circular feature made of clay, on top of a levelled layer which contained significant amounts of charcoal (Mavridis & Tankosić 2009; 2013; Mavridis 2017a,b). In the fill of this layer some sherds belonging to the same bowl were found bearing white painted decoration. The head has a general inclination to the back producing an upturned face of rounded-triangular shape with an emphasised nose. At the back of the head there is a large horizontal notch. Two vertical raised bands on the body of the bowl may represent the legs of the figure. Several marble EC II folded-arm figurines have the same characteristics of head design and the same emphasis on the nose. Many Neolithic parallels can be found at sites such as at Kephala on Keos (Coleman 1977, pl. 72) and Sarakenos Cave in Boeotia (Orphanidis & Sampson 2015, 97–9). It is of interest that this type of figure, especially the form of the head that was considered as typical of the LN II at Agia Triada, comes from a secure 5th-millennium BC context (Mavridis 2017a,b). Anthropomorphic handles raised above the rim of vessels is a characteristic feature of the LN (see discussion in Nanoglou & Pappa 2009, 253–9; Nanoglou 2008, 320).

Clay figurine fragment (excavation no. C7; Fig. 2.8)

Agia Triada Cave, Karystos. Trench 12, unit 4

Date: LN II

Height with neck 47 mm, width of torso 40 mm, width of neck 16 mm, thickness 15 mm

Torso and lower part of body of clay figurine. Rough surface, coarse clay with many limestone inclusions, micaceous (5/6 yellowish red 5YR). Grey core. Previously unpublished.

Clay bowl with anthropomorphic handle (excavation no. A13; Fig. 2.9)

Agia Triada Cave, Karystos. Trench 2, layer 5

Date: LN I

Diameter 110 mm, height with handle 136 mm, thickness 6 mm, head 18 × 18 mm

Rim and body fragments with anthropomorphic vertical handle of a closed bowl (nine sherds). Burnished surfaces (exterior greyish brown 2.5Y 5/2, interior dark greyish brown 2.5Y 4/2). Semi-coarse clay with some inclusions and mica. White painted decoration of three vertical lines from rim.

Previously unpublished.

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Attica

AN EARLY CYCLADIC FIGURINE FROM THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki

The site

The Acropolis of Athens, with its long history, does not register in our minds as a likely place for an early Cycladic figurine. The celebrated classical Acropolis of Antiquity has cast a shadow on the Mycenaean citadel, fortified with cyclopean walls, and information is scanty on the Early Bronze Age.

Before ambitious excavation programmes were undertaken on top of the rock by P. Kavvadias and G. Kawerau (1885–90), clearance operations were in order and the earth was discarded down the slopes (Mallouchou-Tufano 2007, 46, fig. 23). When Stephanos Koumanoudes, then General Secretary of the Archaeological Society at Athens and a leading expert in ancient epigraphy, conducted a large-scale excavation on the South Slope of the Acropolis (1876–77), the area was still covered with piles of earth (Fig. 3.1); this was the first systematic attempt to clear the site. The dig was rewarding, since it uncovered the ruins of the Asklepieion and produced a great number of ancient Greek and early Christian inscriptions and votive reliefs, all carved in stone.

The cult of Asklepeios was introduced to Athens around 420 BC, in the dark years of the Peloponnesian war, after the great plague. It remained a shrine of predominantly local importance, not acquiring international fame in the Greek or Roman world; nevertheless it was active

until the early Christian era (5th century AD). It was succeeded by basilicas of, as far as tradition goes, healer saints. A fountain house and a reservoir, its walls in archaic polygonal style, had already been built at the site by the end of the 6th century BC. The area was therefore capable of sustaining life and water was of paramount importance to the cults celebrated there until the 19th century (Travlos 1971, 127–41; Papaefthymiou 2012, 1–2). It has been suggested that the lower fortified citadel of the Mycenaean Acropolis, the so called Pelargikon, was meant to protect water springs located both on the South and North slopes (Papadopoulos 2008, 39–44), although Iakovidis (1983, 84–6) located the Pelargikon strictly on the Northwest Slope of the Acropolis, on the plateau in front of the caves.

The figurine

The finds from Koumanoudes' excavation on the South Slope were originally kept in small houses that still existed at the time on and around Acropolis, in the area of the Propylaea. It is due to the meticulous early cataloguing of all the sculpture finds 'south of the Acropolis' ('Asklepieion etc') that we have the first reference of a 'primitive female figurine with folded arms only partly preserved' (Sybel 1881, 316, no. 4387).

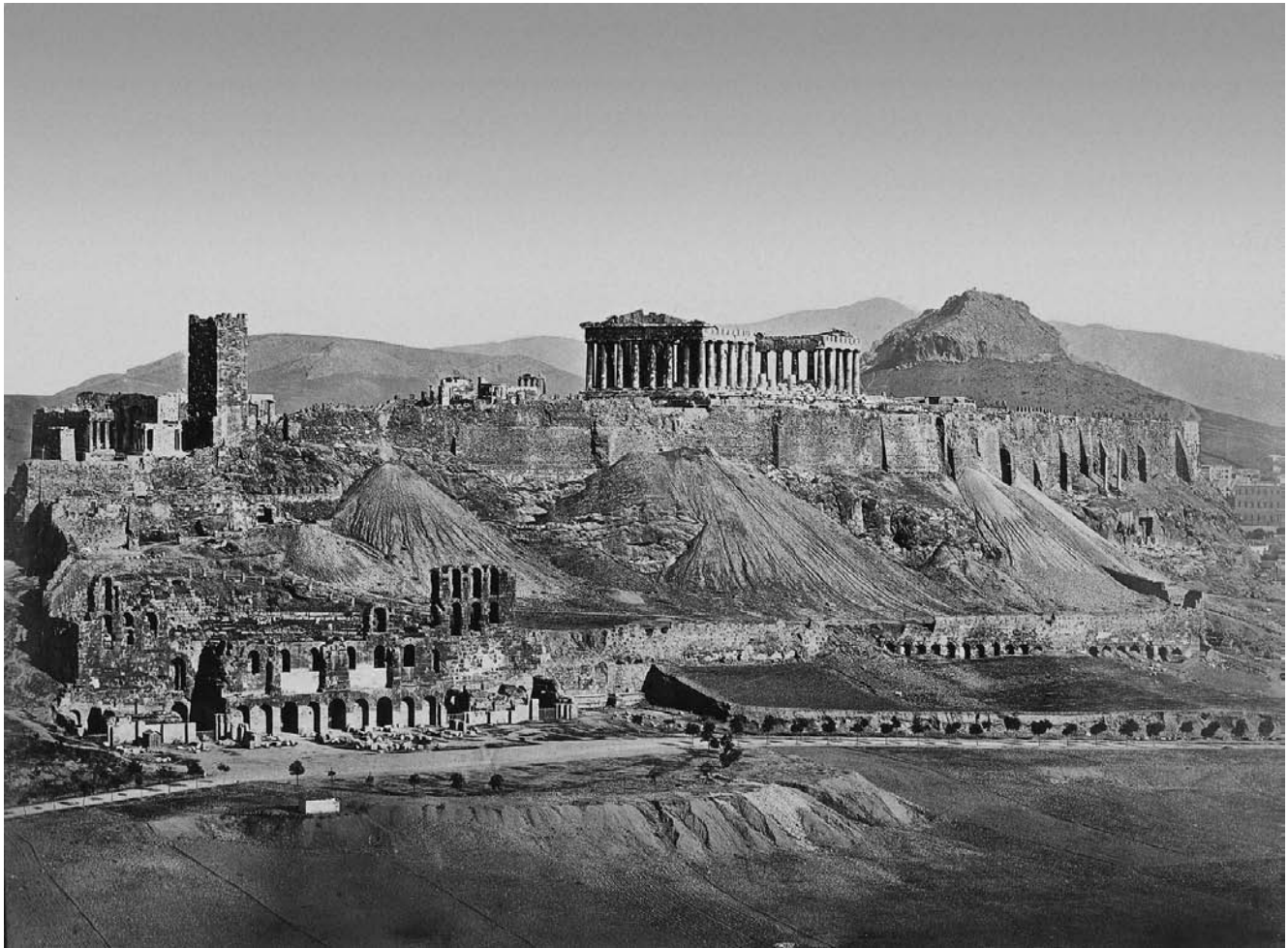


Figure 3.1 View of the Acropolis from the south, circa 1860.

The figurine attracted some attention in the 19th century and a drawing was published by Wolters (1891, 56–7). At the time it was suggested that it was made of Pentelic marble (see further discussion in the appendix to this chapter). It was inventoried in the Prehistoric Collection (inv. no. 5374) after 1900 and Tsountas' excavations in the Cyclades. Much later it was briefly mentioned by Renfrew (1969, 11 note 41) and more recently by Gauss (2000, 169, fig. 8.1 reproducing Wolter's drawing) and Pieler (2004, 111 A14).

EAM5374. Folded arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 3.2).

Preserved height 94 mm, maximum width 77 mm, thickness 33 mm. It was found already broken; the head was missing and only the torso with the folded arms and a small part of the lower body is preserved. The elbows are rounded and the breasts modelled. Incisions denote the fingers on the hands. A deep groove is discernible on the back side. It is made of pure white sparkling marble that may be from southern Naxos, although the notion of Pentelic marble cannot be utterly excluded until further

investigation (see appendix). Its height originally reached at least 250 mm, making it the largest and tallest Cycladic figurine found in Attica. It is safe to assume that the figurine was actually a Cycladic import in late EC II and belongs to the canonical Spedos variety, well known on Naxos (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2017, 334–5, figs 41–42) and its adjacent islands. The fragment carries a superficial resemblance to figurines of the Kavos sub-variety, of considerable size, found broken in the Special Deposit North on Keros (NM407: Sotirakopoulou, Renfrew & Boyd 2017, 362–67, fig. 23.8). Up to now it is the only Cycladic marble figurine known from Athens: a terracotta figurine head, found in the Agora (Immerwahr 1971, 48:220, pl. 14), is only vaguely of Cycladic type.

The majority of the Cycladic figurines found in Attica, in graves at Tsepi Marathon (Pantelidou 2005, 223), Markopoulo (Theocharis 1955, 286, fig. Γ; Marangou 1992, 99, fig. 68; Rambach 1997), Aegaleo by the Kephisos river (Asimakou this volume) or in a burial deposit, in a pit hewn in the rock, at Asteria Glyfadas, along with EH I pottery (Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 56–9, figs 17–19), belong to Early

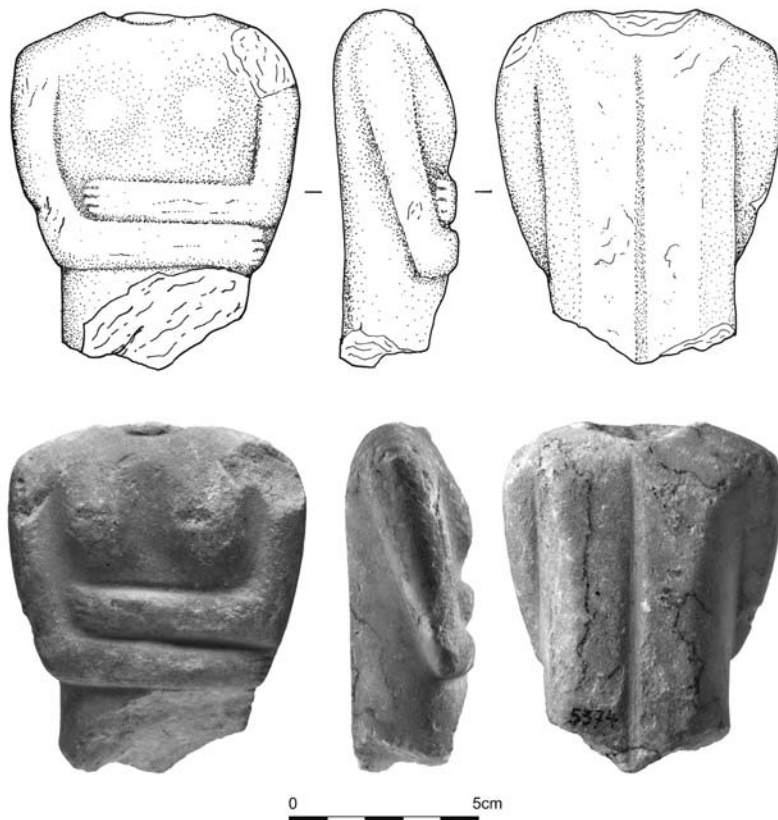


Figure 3.2 EAM5374. Figurine of the Spedos variety. Acropolis. Scale 1:2.

Cycladic I or the Kampos group. The fine but fragmentary Spedos-type figurines from Aghios Kosmas are all of small size (Konstanti & Christopoulou this volume). The torso of a rather crude Spedos-type figurine is known from Brauron (Kalogeropoulou this volume) while the figurine from Manika on Euboea (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1991, 8–9, no. 10, pl. 5) is considered a local imitation (Pieler 2003, 101 fig. 6). Fragments of shallow marble bowls and a fine marble-footed bowl, missing the foot (EAM18123 and EAM18124), constitute a typical EC II assemblage, presumably from a destroyed cist grave on the island of Makronisos, but unfortunately no figurine was reported from it (Theodorakis 1955, 287–8, fig. Δ; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2007, 47).

Investigating the context of EAM5374

Though its provenance from the Acropolis area seems solid, Sybel's information has to be treated cautiously regarding the exact place of discovery. A figurine, originally located on the plateau, may have found its way into the finds from the south slope during clearance operations.

The South Slope

There is evidence enough to support the idea of human activity on the South slope long before the establishment of the shrine. Doro Levi in 1922 excavated a Final Neolithic hut and refuse of habitation with EH II pottery, including sauce boats (Levi 1931, 450–91; Immerwahr 1971, 52–4; Dimitriou 2016). Pottery with painted decoration of the Keros-Syros culture (Levi 1931, 472, fig. 64b) and pottery stamped with spirals (Levi 1931, 466, fig. 55b, pl. XXVio) has come from rock shelters above the Asklepieion. Projectile points and blades, all made of obsidian (Levi 1930–31, 472–3, fig. 66), are among the finds. Obsidian arrows of the same type, known from Final Neolithic settlements (Moundrea-Agrafioti 2008, 243–4, pl. 3), are the main finds reported from the so-called 'prehistoric tumulus' excavated in the area by Skias (1902, 123–30, fig. 3), but these may come from the Neolithic habitation. The date of the human burials in the half-destroyed 'tumulus' remains uncertain (Whittaker 2014, 223–34). Later on, Platon (1964, 24–6, pl. 14b) investigated a 'MH bothros', a duck askos being among its finds along with Middle Helladic Pottery, and the known early Mycenaean wells, filled with discarded

domestic pottery (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2009, 581–3 for references).

The Acropolis plateau

On the Acropolis plateau, Early Helladic pottery is reported around the Erechtheion (Immerwahr 1971, 53 note 9) and some early Cycladic finds have found their way among the pottery or minor objects from the Mycenaean and classical Acropolis, excavated in 1885–90. These include:

EAM16026 Figurine of a dove, used as a pendant, made of greenish jadeite with a splash of brown on the body below (Fig. 3.3).

Preserved height 38 mm, length 52 mm, thickness 18 mm

The head is missing. Grooves on both sides denote the wings. There is a hole pierced in the lower body for suspension and an attempt was made to pierce a hole at the bottom of the neck, perhaps in an attempt to repair it. It was originally housed in the Collection of the Bronzes (inv. no. 7245) and has remained hitherto unpublished.

The bird pendant has a few parallels, notably the bird pendants from T. 105 at Pyrgos, Paros and one from T. 135 at Zoumparia on Despotiko, dated EC I (Marangou 1992, 123–4, fig. 36a, b, d; Rambach

2000a, 37, 57, pl. 14:18). It is regarded as a symbol of swiftness, associated with maritime trade (Broodbank 2000, 249 fig. 81c). This is a rare prestige item, unique in Athens and the first of its kind found in the mainland. Its existence in Attica, along with the numerous EC I figurines, comes as no surprise since in EH I numerous sites had emerged along and close to the east coast of Attica with a strong Cycladic character. Metalworking, using Lavrion metal ores, was of paramount importance to their success (Kouka 2008, 275–9).

EAM13417 Miniature pyxis made of dark brown coarse clay, half of it preserved, the other restored (Fig. 3.4).

Height 51 mm, diameter body 59 mm, diameter lip 66 mm (including handles), diameter base 15 mm

Graef & Langlotz 1925, 2:9 pl. 1:9

The surface of the body is slightly polished while the rounded base is rough. Vertical grooves on the body. In alignment with the straight lip two lugs, pierced, serve as handles, one preserved, the other restored.

This type of vessel, in normal size, finds parallels in the EC I pyxides from Akrotiraki, Siphnos (Rambach 2000a, 63–4 pl. 24:4, 25). A variant of the shape is also known in Attica from tombs (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 307–08, pl. 1) and in burial deposits (Kazapapageorgiou 2006, 56–9, fig. 18:12). More interesting are the miniatures in the burial deposit at Tsepi, Marathon (Pantelidou 2002, 1–4, fig. 4), where the ritual included offerings to the dead and ceremonial breakage (Pantelidou 2008). EC I vases have been

identified before in ‘final neolithic’ strata by the west entrance of the Acropolis and the area of the Agora (Rambach 2000b, 114–15; 2000a pl. 101:1–3) but the idea of a miniature vase being part of a ritual remains intriguing.

EAM13420 Fragment of a pyxis lid in dark burnished stamped ware (Fig. 3.5).

Diameter 200 mm, thickness 130–190 mm (including inner lip).

Graef & Langlotz 1925, 1:3 pl. 1:3; Coleman 1985, 217:138.

Reddish brown clay, dark highly burnished, shiny flat surface. Decorated with stamped circles in sets of four, with white filling well preserved and a multiple chevron band encircling the border. On the outer broken edge traces of the hole for the string are discerned.

EAM13419. Fragment of a pyxis lid in dark burnished stamped ware (Fig. 3.6).

Diameter 125–130 mm, thickness 90–120 mm (including inner lip), diameter of hole 50 mm

Graef & Langlotz 1925, 1:2, pl. 1:2; Coleman 1985, 217:137

Reddish brown clay, dark medium burnished flat surface. Decorated with stamped circles in sets of four, with white filling, oblique strokes around the border. One of the two surviving sets of stamped circles is pierced through to accommodate the string that tied the lid to the body of the pyxis.

For a long time there was confusion as to whether EAM113419 and EAM13420 were actually frying pans. The ware and the decoration are compatible with the Keros-Syros frying pans of EC II date. This is especially true for EAM13420, the larger of the two, which finds a parallel in Manika (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1991, 10, fig. 5).

As lids they probably belong to a spool-shaped pyxis of the same fabric, medium burnished and decorated with impressed concentric semicircles. These vessels, almost identical in fabric, shape and decoration, are quite well-known in Attica, coming from mixed contexts that range between the EH and MH periods. The best preserved (Fig. 3.7) comes from Ag. Nikolaos peninsula, near Anavyssos (Lavrion Museum 985), found in a surface survey which produced pottery of EH and MH date (Rambach 2004,

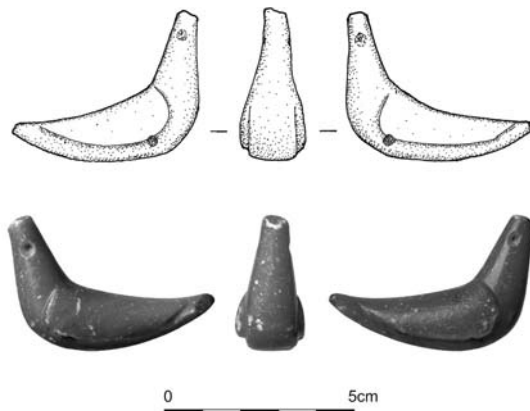


Figure 3.3 EAM16026. Bird pendant. Acropolis. Scale 1:2.



Figure 3.4 EAM13417. Miniature pyxis, Acropolis.

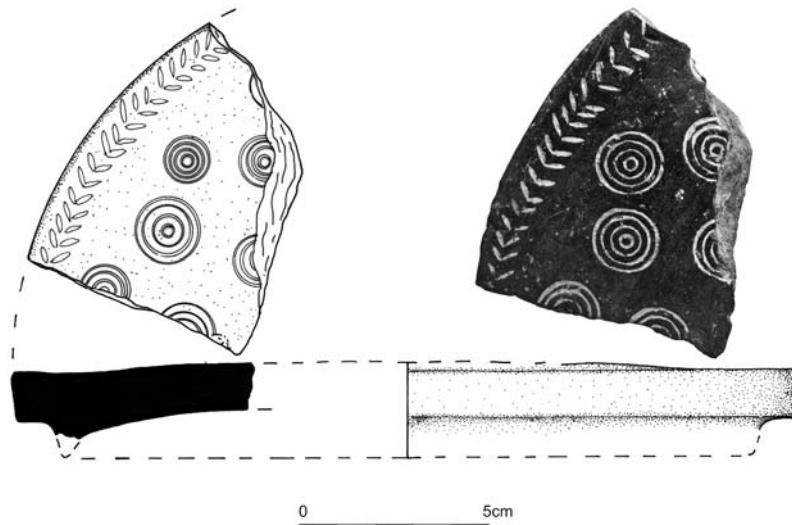


Figure 3.5 EAM13420. Pyxis lid. Acropolis.

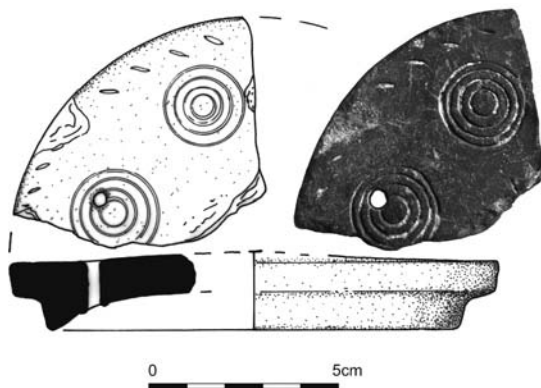


Figure 3.6 EAM13419. Pyxis lid. Acropolis.

1237–8, fig. 10c; Oikonomakou 2010, 238, fig. 10). Its height is 95 mm, the maximum diameter 115 mm, and the diameter of the lid 105 mm. The body is mended from fragments and is partly (one third) restored. The lid is intact. Two holes, on the lid and the upper body, are pierced for the string.

Characteristic are the incised bands that encircle the shoulder and the lower body. On the lid radiating incised lines around the central protuberance are a simplified form of the sun symbol found on the lid from Paros (Karantzali 1996, 100–01, fig. 106k). This is reminiscent of sun symbols on frying pans of the Kampos group (Goodison 2008, 420–21, fig. 39) and later the Agios Loukas pyxis (Rambach 2000a, 183–4, pl. 70:6).

Finds from domestic contexts on the North Slope of the Acropolis (Agora excavations 3509, 3510, 3511; Immerwahr 1971, 72–3, nos 253–255, pl. 16, 70), namely a lid (Fig. 3.8), diameter 100 mm, and two body fragments (Fig. 3.9),

preserved height 35 mm, diameter 100 mm (Broneer 1933, 356–9, fig. 27i, j; Hansen 1937, 545, fig. 4d; Gauss 2000, 170, figs 10–12) belong to the same vessel type, as does a body fragment from the area of the New Acropolis Museum, found in a rock crevice (Venieri 2010, 192, fig. 9). Pyxis EAM3713 (Fig. 3.10), which comes from the excavation of the prehistoric settlement at Thorikos, excavated by V. Stais in 1893 (Stais 1895, 222–34; Papadimitriou forthcoming) also belongs to the same group. Only the lower body is preserved, with a height of 60 mm, and diameter 98 mm. A drawing of this piece was included in Graef & Langlotz (1925, 1) in association with the lids from the Acropolis plateau.

In the Cyclades, an intact piece with no lid (Fig. 3.11) is on display in the Museum of Prehistoric Thera (inv. no. 1352) but the circumstances of its discovery are not exactly known; it is preliminarily dated to EC III. From Kea Period III (Wilson 1999, 51, 66, II-551, 552) fragments of similar pyxides are found in reddish-brown burnished ware and are dated to EC II late. Their exact date remains uncertain, ranging from EH II late to early MH, and they have always been found in heavily disturbed strata in Attica or elsewhere on the mainland (Rambach 2008, 294–6, fig. 29:3–9). They could have belonged to a Cycladic workshop and were apparently used as contents for solid goods.

EAM13421. Fragment of a pyxis lid with incised decoration (Fig. 3.12) Diameter 110 mm, thickness 160–210 mm (including inner lip) Graef & Langlotz 1925, 1:4 pl. 1:4

Made of grey coarse clay, the surface is brown, slipped and polished. Decoration consists of incised bands, filled with oblique stokes in a foliate pattern, that run diagonally across field. Incised triangles filled with oblique stokes are drawn in the field between the bands. An incised line, fringed on the exterior, encircles the border.



Figure 3.7 Lavrion Museum 985. Pyxis. Ag. Nikolaos, Anavyssos.



Figure 3.8 Pyxis lid, Acropolis, North Slope.



Figure 3.9 Pyxis body fragments. Acropolis, North Slope.

This pyxis lid has a conical shape and comes from a different workshop. The shape or decoration of the body is uncertain. The dark-coloured lid with incised decoration from Aigina Kolonna, dated to early Middle Helladic, provides a parallel for the shape (Gauss & Smetana 2008, 337–8, fig. 33.9i). A fragment of a pyxis from Kea Period IV (EH III–early MH), made of red-brown clay with a medium burnished dark surface, has incised decoration in bands and triple circles apparently stamped (Overbeck 1989, 48–9, pl. 43:28).

The West Slope

Old Acropolis Museum 4954. Duck askos (Fig. 3.13)

Height 110 mm, maximum diameter 110 mm, diameter base 60 mm
Pelekides 1915, 34, fig. 1:1

Made of grey coarse clay with incised and quasi-impressed decoration on a dark brown, slipped and burnished surface. From the Western Slope, found in 1909. Mended from fragments and restored in parts. The body is angular, the base flat. There is a protruding knob at the base of the neck and traces of a broken short handle on the back side.

Decoration covers the upper body. Incised bands filled with multiple chevrons or oblique strokes divide the field in zones

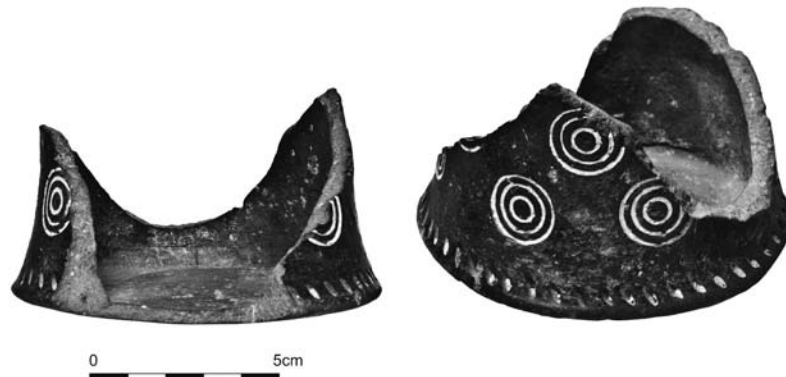


Figure 3.10 Pyxis. Thorikos, Lavrion.



Figure 3.11 Pyxis. Thera.

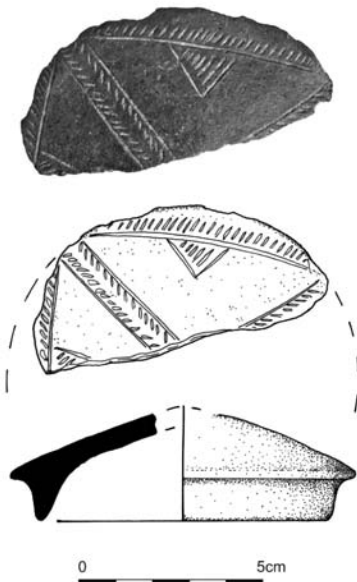


Figure 3.12 EAM13421. Pyxis lid. Acropolis.

or panels. The inner spaces are filled with concentric or dotted circles. The concentric circles, in sets of three, are irregular and have a hole in the middle as if drawn by a pair of compasses.

Its complex decoration finds parallels in the duck askoi of the Phylakopi I culture (Renfrew 1972, 189, pl. 10; Barber 1984, 90–91). The known duck askoi in Athens come from domestic or funerary contexts, from the South Slope of the Acropolis (Platon 1964, 24–6, pl. 14b), the Agora grave (Immerwahr 1971, 58 pl. 17, 70, with horizontal fluting, see Sherratt 2000, 55–6, fig. 13, pl. 30), and the disturbed grave (?) south of the Acropolis (Pantelidou 1975, 51–4, pls 2–3, three fragmentary askoi with incised decoration or horizontal fluting). The graves may well be dated in EH III, the time when the first burials and a cist grave are attested in the cemetery of Kerameikos (Gauss 2000, 167–8; Stroszeck 2014, 132–3, fig. 27:2, 3).

The duck askos is considered the most diagnostic trade item of the Phylakopi I culture, used for the transportation of liquids (Broodbank 2000, 351–4, fig. 119), and widely distributed in the islands and the mainland. Unfortunately the context of the duck askos from the West Slope is not known. Among the group of vases published by Pelekides, the provenance of four miniature cups (Fig. 3.14) inventoried under the same number (Old Acropolis Museum 4955) is not specified, and it is not even certain that they belong to an assemblage. One of them, of height 40 mm (Pelekides 1915, 35:6, fig. 1:3), is made of coarse brown clay, with traces of fire, decorated with short oblique strokes in a rather random way (Fig. 3.15). They would fit well among the numerous miniature cups found in Area V of Aghios Kosmas, associated with the cemetery (Mylonas 1959, 107–10, pls 151–6) and presumably dated to EH II late. Along with the duck askos, the cups could possibly represent a hypothetical assemblage for ‘wine service’, similar to the one from a grave in southeast Naxos (Renfrew 1972, 282–3, pl. 16.1). The two jugs (Fig. 3.16) in this random group (Old Acropolis Museum 4958 & 5054), height 680–750 mm (Pelekides 1915, 35, fig. 1:2), cannot be dated precisely but would ideally complete the set of



Figure 3.13 Old Acropolis Museum 4954. Duck askos. Acropolis, West Slope.



Figure 3.14 Old Acropolis Museum 4955. Miniature cups. Acropolis, West Slope.



Figure 3.15 Old Acropolis Museum 4955. Miniature cup. Acropolis, West Slope.



Figure 3.16 Old Acropolis Museum 4958 and Old Acropolis Museum 5054. Jugs. Acropolis, West Slope.

pouring and drinking vessels, invoking again the notion of ritual activities; but this remains mere speculation, not directly supported by the evidence at hand.

The North Slope

There is an abundance of material, mostly fallen from the plateau above, that supports an Early Helladic presence on the North Slope. This is highlighted by the seal found on the Northeastern ascent (Gauss 2000, 168–9, fig. 5, citing parallels at Lerna).

An exceptional closed vessel with angular body (Agora excavations 3508), a biconical jar or rather a ‘tea pot’ askos (traces of an applied spout are preserved in the interior) comes from the North Slope (Broneer 1933, 358–9, fig. 27h). It is made of coarse reddish clay with white inclusions and shiny silver mica. The rough slip is dark brown-grey, peeled off in places. Its preserved height is 90 mm, with diameter 110 mm (Fig. 3.17). Its context was a mixed collection of sherds of Early Bronze Age, Mycenaean or Classical date. Note also that the two body fragments of pyxides with stamped decoration (Fig. 3.9), mentioned above, come from the same collection.

Its shape places it along with the Kastri group at the end of the EC II period (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 201, 324, figs 21.35, 21.36). The interest lies in the rich incised decoration that

seems to present a rare scene. Two long boats, roughly sketched, are discerned on the lower level, with low flat hulls, both ending with a bow projection (Wedde 2000, 206–7), albeit one is apparently shown upside down. Paddles or oars are shown as incisions inside the hull. A rising element above the hull of the ship at the right, curved at an angle, may present a side screen to protect the cargo or indicate that a ship is participating in a ritual procession (Wedde 2000, 75). Another piece of superstructure is shown at the stern. A third ship, above, also belongs to the longboat type. Characteristic is the curvature of the hull that leads to a bow projection. There is also a triangular superstructure that could be taken as sail but no mast or steering oar are present. Sails, introduced on ships at the end of the 3rd millennium BC, are depicted on pottery of Phylakopi I at a time where we witness the beginning of narrative scenes (Broodbank 2000, 343–4 fig. 116; Doumas 2013, 44–5 fig. 5.2).

In the middle of the scene is a roughly drawn large fish (?) and part of a second, their bodies and tails simple incised triangles filled with short strokes. Fish are known in Early Cycladic II, as emblems of ships and incised or matt-painted fish appear in the pottery of Phylakopi I (Doumas 2013, 45–7, fig. 5.4). The so-called fish on the Acropolis vessel lacks real parallels but it is placed in context among the ships.

All the elements of the boats are known on the ships depicted on frying pans of the Keros-Syros culture, a rather decorative superstructure appearing on a pan from Syros (EAM5135) that features two superimposed ships set obliquely to the main axis of the pan (Broodbank 2000, 97–101, fig. 23; Marthari 2017, 147–9, fig. 6). It has been argued that the presence of two ships enhances the power and the symbolic value of the longboat and it may not be taken literally as a real image of two ships (Broodbank 1989, 328). Furthermore, the scenes on the pans are better organised and executed than those on the Acropolis jar, with the notable exception of the roughly sketched ship on a pan in the Ashmolean Museum that has no secure provenance (Sherratt 2000, 207–8, pls 247–8). All the provenanced frying pans depicting ships come from the cemetery at Chalandriani on Syros (13 in all), including the one recently excavated in a large rectangular-built tomb with a niche. The burial of an adult male, lavishly furnished with marble, bronze, bone and clay artefacts, has given us a real picture of the use of these frying pans as containers (Marthari 2017).

The Acropolis vessel certainly lacks the artistry of the frying pans. The question arises whether it was made by an artist, expert in the symbolic language of the Cyclades, or made on the spur of the moment by someone who had actually seen ships on the sea. Then maybe this vivid scene has a narrative character and gives us a real picture of boats navigating in the Aegean, carrying cargoes, which are sometimes shipwrecked and turned upside down. The only other contemporary case of ship representation in the

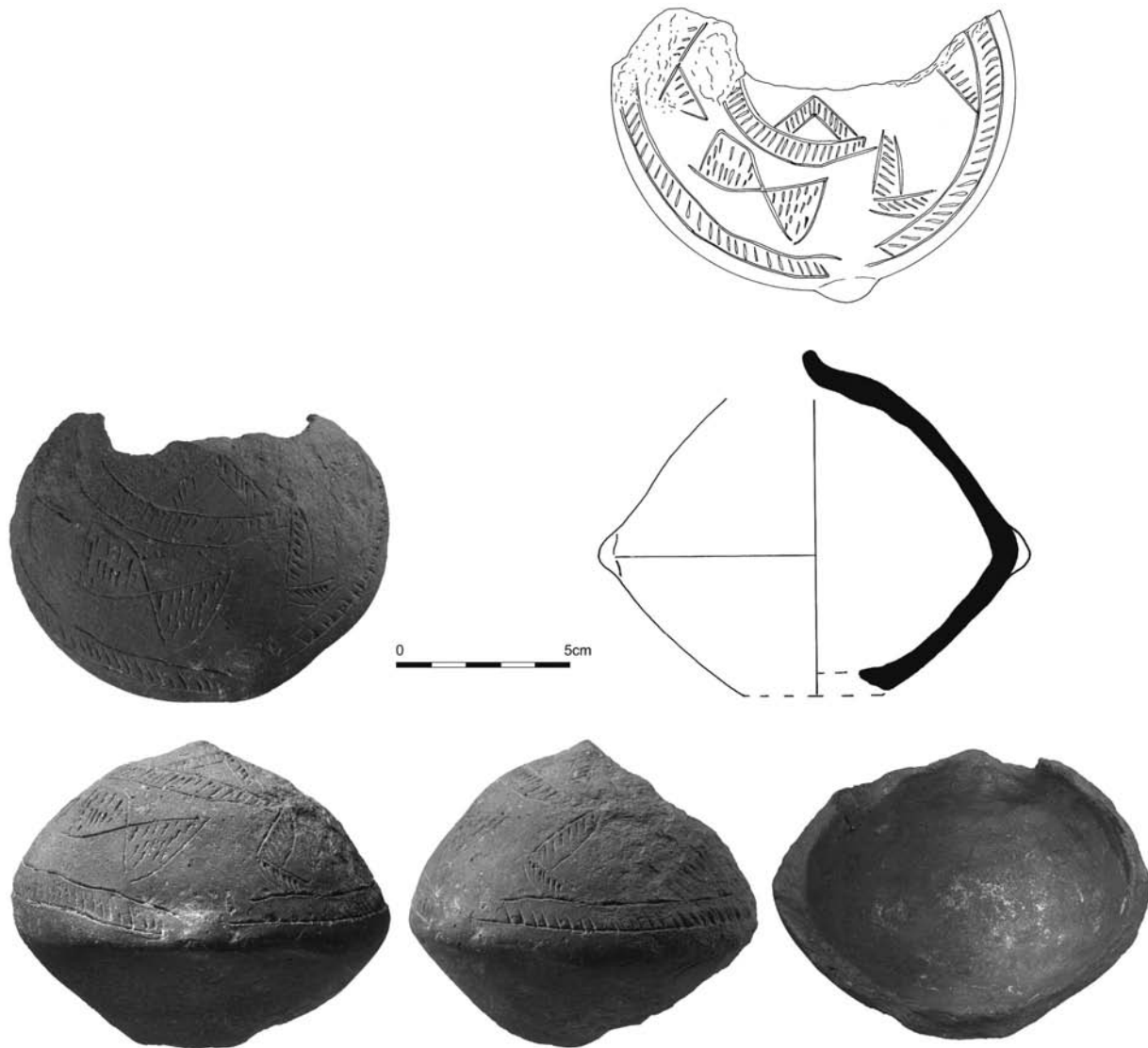


Figure 3.17 Jar with incised ships. Acropolis, North Slope.

mainland is a paddled ship incised on a pottery fragment, coming from an EH IIB askos, found at Orchomenos in Boeotia (van de Moortel 2012, 24 fig. 3.8)

Overall the Early Bronze Age material from Athens fits well to our present knowledge of the floruit of Attica in EH I and II and its Cycladic connections (Kouka 2008, 275–9). But the virtual absence of EH III material from excavated sites has long been noted (Papadimitriou 2010, 243–5). This assumption may be altered by a new appraisal of long-known finds, from domestic contexts and graves in the Acropolis area, or the tumulus at Aphidna where some ‘MH vases’ are in fact dated to the late Early Bronze Age (Forsén 2010). Pottery that may be assigned to the Phylakopi I culture, namely a bowl with incurved rim and painted decoration, in the area of Asteria Glyfadas (Kaza-

Papageorgiou 2006, 47–50, fig. 6), adds significantly to our knowledge of Early Bronze Age Attica.

The *disiecta membra* of the Early Bronze Age habitation on and around the Acropolis plateau are not capable of giving us a stratified sequence or contributing to the ongoing discussion on the transition to the Middle Bronze Age. Still, there is enough material evidence to ascertain the existence of a substantial settlement in EH I, EH II and EH III and testify to its cultural and trade relations with the Cycladic islands from where prestige items, such as the bird figurine or the folded arm figurine, were imported along with pottery vessels carrying commodities. The incised ships on the jar are an allusion to maritime enterprise and trade that found its way to the Athenian Acropolis, suggesting it is definitely time to place Athens on the map of exchange networks as a port of call.

Appendix: Optical examination of a Cycladic-type marble figurine from the Acropolis and vessels from Makronisos in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens

D. Tambakopoulos & Y. Maniatis

Introduction

The marble of one Cycladic-type figurine found at the Asklepieion on the foothills of the Acropolis was examined non-invasively using optical techniques. In addition, four marble vessels from Makronisos were also examined for comparison. All objects are in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Their examination involved using a standard intensity light source, optical microscope and millimetre scales. Their macroscopic features such as marble colour, veins and other structural characteristics were recorded, while the Maximum Grain Size (MGS), the Most Frequent grain Size (MFS), the degree of crystallinity, and the translucency (the depth of the standard intensity light source penetration) were measured.

Results

EAM5374 The marble is white with a very light grey background and of medium translucency measured at 20 mm. It is well crystallised, with well-defined grain boundaries and without inter-grain material. The MGS is measured at 1.4 mm while the MFS varies from 0.5 to 0.8 mm. Figure 3.18 shows a view of the figurine at a break where its colour and crystal specks can be seen. Figure 3.19 shows the grain structure of the figurine as seen under a microscope and transmitted light.

Conclusions

The macroscopic and microscopic marble features of the Acropolis figurine are compatible with marble from Cyclades (*e.g.* Naxos) but also with marble from Attica (*e.g.* Penteli). The provenance can only be identified more precisely after sampling and conducting laboratory physicochemical analyses.

The marble of the vessels EAM18124 and EAM18123.1 seems to be similar, but actually the differences in crystalline structure suggest different marble sources for each; they are also different from the figurine. On the other hand, vessels EAM18123.3 and EAM18123.2 are made of very similar marble, most probably from the same source, but again different from that of the figurine and from the other two vessels.

As with the figurine, without sampling and laboratory analyses it is often hard to determine the provenance of marble, especially for prehistoric objects.

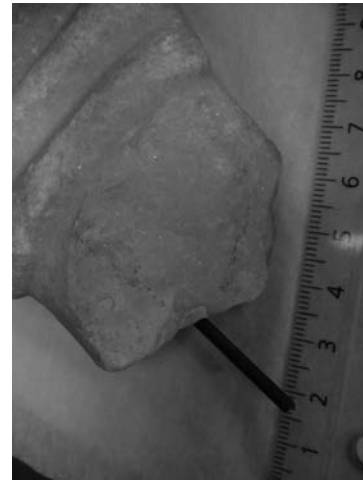


Figure 3.18 A close up photo the figurine EAM5374 at a break.

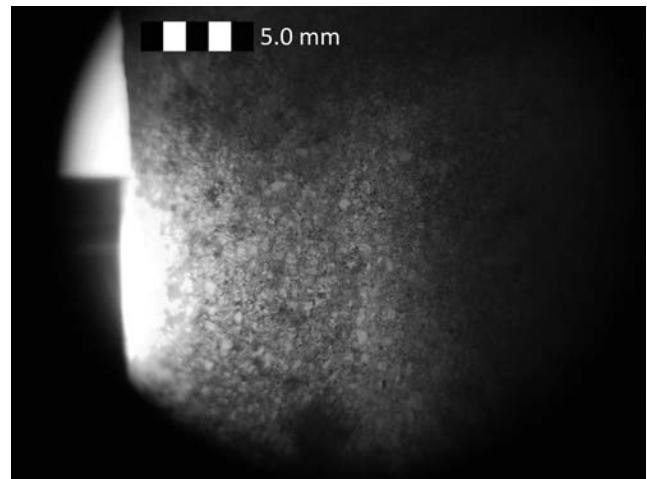


Figure 3.19 Detail of the crystalline structure of figurine EAM5374 through the optical microscope using transmitted light.

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Table 3.1 Marble features of the figurine from the Acropolis and vessels from Makronisos determined by non-invasive examination.

Museum code	Location	Type	Colour	Transparency (cm)	MGS (mm)	MFS (mm)
5374	Athens Acropolis	FAF torso	White	2.0	1.4	0.5–0.8
18124	Makronisos	Marble vessel	White?	n.m.	1.5	0.8–1.0
18123.1	Makronisos	Marble vessel	White	1.5	1.4	1.0
18123.3	Makronisos	Marble vessel fragment	White (milky)	n.m.	1.0	0.1–0.2
18123.2	Makronisos	Marble vessel fragment	White (milky)	n.m.	0.8	0.1–0.2

to Craig Mauzy for the photographs in the Agora Museum and to M. Marthari for providing the photograph of the Thera pyxis and her support.

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AGHIOS KOSMAS REVISITED: THE CYCLADIC FIGURINES FROM THE EARLY HELLADIC SITE AT AGHIOS KOSMAS IN ATTICA

Katerina Kostanti & Alexandra Christopoulou

Introduction

The excavations at the promontory of Aghios Kosmas were conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service under the direction of G.E. Mylonas, in three seasons: 1930, 1931 and 1951. The excavator's goal was to locate one of the shrines on the Kolias Akra and vestiges of the Persian fleet destroyed at Salamis. Instead, the excavations led to the unexpected but 'happiest experience' (Mylonas 1959, 12) of the discovery 'of the Early Helladic cemetery', with 32 graves, almost all furnished. A coastal site, both the settlement and the cemetery of the Early Helladic period were discovered, as well as a Late Helladic habitation.

The excavations unearthed eight figurines of Cycladic type, mostly in fragmentary condition. Seven of them were found in the cemetery and one in the settlement. A ninth object interpreted by the excavator as a possible figurine not of Cycladic type (Mylonas 1959, 40–1, no. 8, fig. 164) is not examined here. The good number of artefacts of Cycladic type or real Cycladic imports unearthed, mainly from the cemetery, place Aghios Kosmas – a port-of-call on the obsidian trade route (Carter 1998, 85) – in the group of sites along the coast of Attica that present strong affinities with the Cycladic culture, mainly Keros-Syros.

The seven figurines found in the cemetery are displayed in the permanent exhibition of prehistoric antiquities of the National Archaeological Museum.

Catalogue of figurines

1. EAM8970. Schematic figurine (Fig. 4.1).

Mylonas 1959, 77, figurine no. 1, fig. 163.1, drawing 62
Marble

Height 149.6 mm (total), 69.44 mm (head and neck); 44.1 mm (head); width 52.4 mm (at shoulders), 55.5 mm (at bottom end), 44.5 mm (at waist); maximum thickness of body 14.7 mm.

Found broken in two, mended, now of three pieces: torso, neck and head. The latter is a modern breakage. On the back, parts covered with orange-brown encrustations.

Quadrilateral torso with convex base and concave sides, with no attempt to indicate the sex. Sharp and clean outline. Elongated neck, narrower at the top. Long oval face with high forehead, long narrow nose wider at the base with a sharp ridge. Under the nose a horizontal groove indicates the lips and a small depression the chin. Viewed in profile the lower jaw is protruding. The top of the head is tilting slightly backwards. The front surface of the figurine is curved while the back is flat. Through side lighting traces of painted decoration in fine incised lines can be seen on



Figure 4.1 EAM8970. Schematic figurine. Scale 1:2.

the face: two pairs of concentric eyes, the eyebrows (?) and a horizontal band on the forehead with angular strokes (tassels?) at both sides (Fig. 4.2). Traces of paint are visible under UV light. It is a specimen of the hybrid type (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 64), categorised by Renfrew (1969, 14) as *Apeiranthos* type. The torso is inspired by the violin-shaped figurines combined with the spade-shaped variety. The neck and head with the long nose and the well-defined lips and chin are reminiscent of the *Plastiras* type, while the painted eyes and the rather flat head stand apart from it. No exact parallels, except for figurine EAM6169.7 (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2017, 313, no. 11) from Stephanos's excavations at Syros which presents some similarities in the rendering of face and torso. In addition, the technique of the decoration on the face, which combines fine incisions and added colour, remains unique. Chronology: EH/EC I–II (transitional)

This figurine was found in Area A, west of the boundary wall of Grave 3, along with some skeletal remains, a pair of copper tweezers and two vases (a handleless cup and a single-handled cup) of poor quality. According to the excavator (Mylonas 1959, 75), all the above indicate a disturbed burial. Grave 3 is a corbell-built one, placed on top of a rocky elevation of the ground; around the grave, among other finds, were placed two clay pyxides of Cycladic type, one of them filled with obsidian cores, blades and chips (NAM8955, Mylonas 1959, no. 164), two small stone (chlorite schist?) pyxides and two fragments of a marble phiale.



Figure 4.2 EAM8970. Detail of decoration on face.



Figure 4.3 EAM8971. Torso and legs of folded-arm figurine of late Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

2. *EAM8971. Torso and legs of folded-arm figurine of late Spedos variety* (Fig. 4.3).

Mylonas 1959, 81–1, figurine no. 2, fig. 163, drawing 62; Renfrew 1969, 20, IV.F.28.; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 58, ft. 233; Pieler 2004, 111, A10

Marble

Preserved height 73.8 mm; width 34.8 mm (at shoulders), 30 mm (at hips)

The neck and head were broken and repaired in antiquity by means of a hole opened on the upper part of the chest (Getz-Preziosi 1981, no. 17, where it is viewed as Early Spedos variety). The anatomical rendering of the upper body is limited to shallow grooves, which form the folded arms under the completely flat chest. The pubic triangle is similarly formed. In contrast the thighs show plasticity and volume including bent knees; the latter are emphasised by a deep incision in the rear. The spine is indicated with a shallow incision. A deep V-shaped groove is used to separate (not entirely) the legs, of which only the right is preserved to a little below the knee. The examination under UV light revealed two horizontal parallel lines across the pubic and thigh area (Fig. 4.4). They are visible under a digital microscope and by side lighting. This motif is not included in the study by Hendrix (2003).

Vertical shallow grooves with an inclination towards the fractured edges are carved across the biconical repair hole on the front and on the back surface of the figurine. These grooves were previously examined by Getz-Preziosi who concluded that it is ‘difficult to tell if they were made deliberately or just worn in the stone’ (Getz-Preziosi 1981, no. 17, notes 6 and 21.) Still, the appearance of the grooves, running on either side of the repair hole on the front surface, allow us to argue that they were made deliberately, perhaps for the pouring of lead (Fig. 4.5; for comparison see Caskey 1971, pl. 17.3; Getz-Preziosi 1981, no. 14, figs 34–36). As the head was not found, we suppose that the figurine was deposited in the grave in this fragmentary condition.

Chronology: EH/EC II. The not entirely separated legs, the absence of plasticity and the use of deep incisions for the rendering of anatomical parts indicate a chronology late in the development of the Spedos variety.

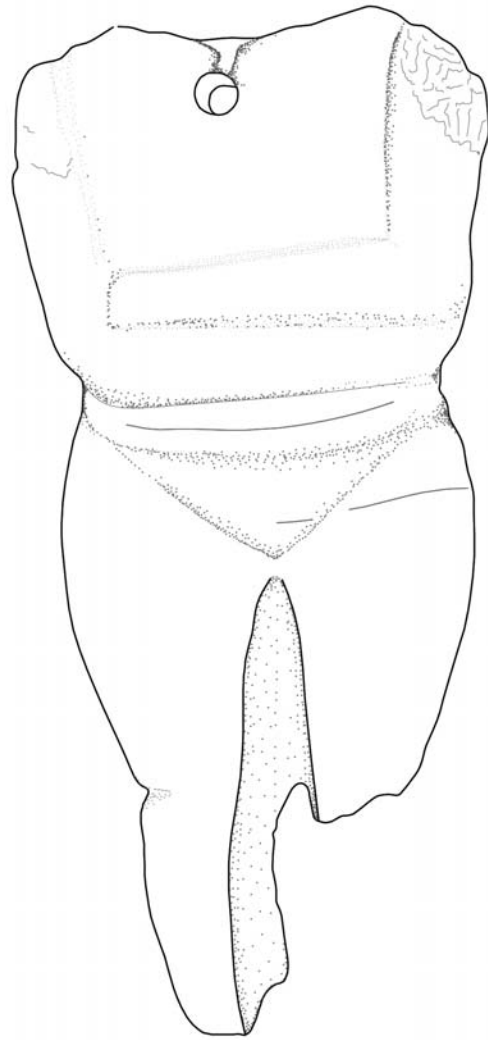


Figure 4.4 EAM8971. Linear paint ghosts (grey lines) at the waist, pelvis and upper legs.

The figurine was found inside grave 5, under the fallen roof-slab, together with a small fragment of a marble cup. The grave contained the remains of at least six persons. Inside it, under the lintel of the entrance, a single-handled cup was found deliberately placed upside down (Mylonas 1959, 81).

3. *EAM8972. Torso and legs of a Louros-type figurine* (Fig. 4.6).

Mylonas 1959, p. 78–80, figurine no. 3, fig. 163.3, drawing 62

Marble

Height: 79.7 mm; width at shoulders 45.5 mm; width at hips 35.6 mm

Head and left leg missing; the right triangular arm protuberance is chipped off. The back side is flat while the frontal is slightly curved in the abdominal area (a tendency to the creation of volume). The closest parallel, made out of shell and kept at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, is said to have been found in

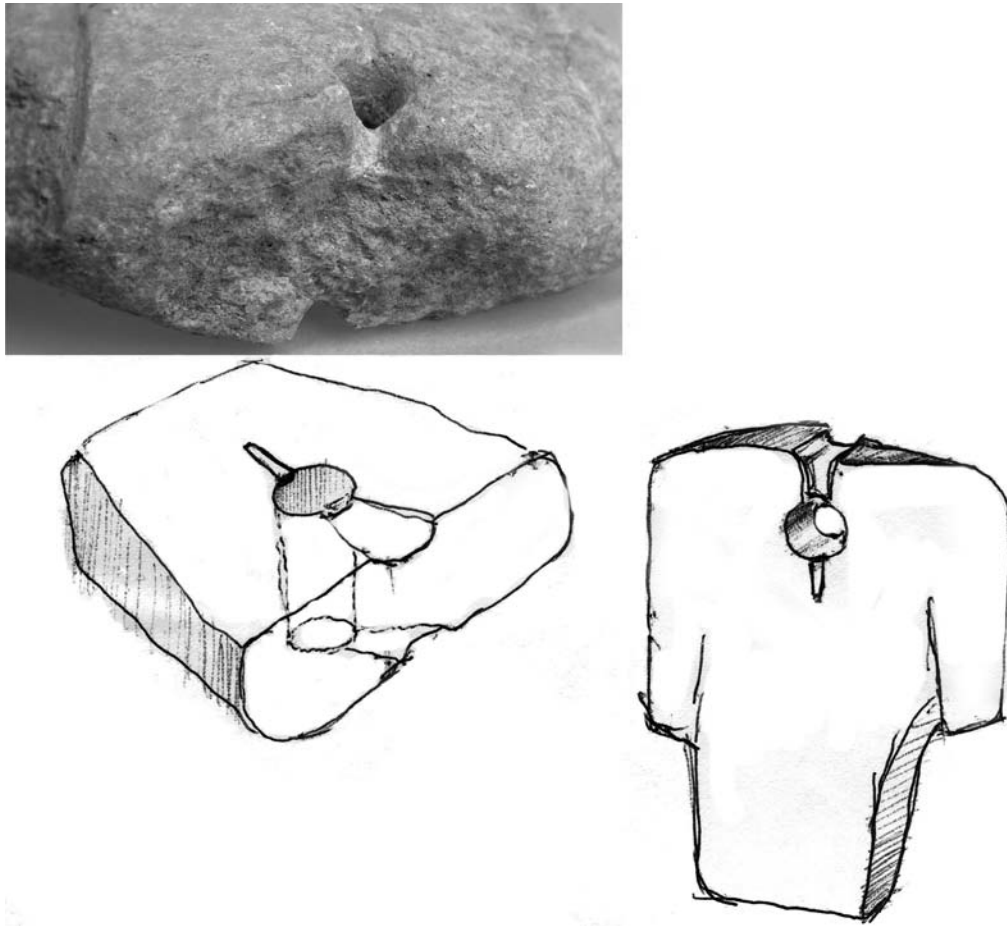


Figure 4.5 EAM8971. Details of the repair hole, and reconstruction of the repair process using lead.



Figure 4.6 EAM8972. Torso and legs of a Louros-type figurine. Scale 1:2.

a tomb at Paros (Budde-Nichols 1964, 3, pl. 1, 7; Thimme 1976, cat. no. 91). This figurine presents striking similarities in the rendering of volumes and legs, albeit the legs of the figurine from Paros are not completely separated. Under UV light some areas were fluorescent, but no colour ghosts were discernible under side lighting or the digital microscope.

Chronology: EH/EC I-II (transitional)

The figurine was found just beyond the south side of grave 4 by its *prothyron*. The grave contained the remains of at least 16 persons. All objects were found outside the grave. By the doorway there were sherds, obsidian chips and blades, three small fragments of marble cups, one bone of a small animal and two sea-shells. In the small fill by the southeast corner of grave 4, four vases were discovered. Among the large number of potsherds there were five sherds of five different frying pans (Mylonas 1959, fig. 145.4, 5, 6, 7, 12) and a sherd of an anthropomorphic vase, the only such occurrence on the site (Mylonas 1959, fig. 143.510).

4. EAM8973. Head, neck and part of the shoulders of a folded-arm figurine of Dokathismata variety (Fig. 4.7).

Mylonas 1959, 83–84, figurine no. 4, fig. 163.4

Marble

Height 33.5 mm; maximum width of forehead 18 mm

Triangular head with a wide forehead upturned, tilting backwards on a long neck. An engraved V-line on the back separates the neck from the shoulders. It is of Dokathismata variety (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 59, ft. 249; cf. Pieler 2004, 111, A11, where it is characterised as Dokathismata or Spedos variety), even if the back of the head is



Figure 4.7 EAM8973. Head, neck and part of the shoulders of a folded-arm figurine of Dokathismata variety. Scale 1:2.



Figure 4.8 EAM8974. Head with part of the neck of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

clearly separated from the neck with a deep incision, not a typical Dokathismata characteristic. Faint traces of red colour could be seen on the right side of the face at the time of its discovery. Examination under UV light showed colour traces only on the forehead. Chronology: developed EH/EC II.

EAM8973 was found in relation to grave 6, which along with grave 5 appears to have formed a small group separated by boundary walls from graves 1–4. In grave 6 the remains of at least 10 persons were discovered. The last burial was found undisturbed *in situ*. No funeral objects were found inside the grave but in the area between it and grave 7 the figurine head was recovered, along with obsidian blades and chips, three typical Early Helladic vases (a jar, a tankard and a single-handled cup), potsherds, and a fragment of a marble phiale.

5. *EAM8974. Head with part of the neck of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety* (Fig. 4.8).

Mylonas 1959, 87 figurine no. 5, fig. 163

Marble

Height 40 mm; width above forehead 18 mm

The head, tilted back, is chipped at the edge. Worn areas on the surface of the face; two small chips on the nose. Incrustations on the lower half of the face. Long nose, well-defined chin. No traces of colour.

Spedos variety (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 58, ft. 233; Pieler 2004, 111, A12)

Chronology: EH/EC II

EAM8974 was found by grave 7, the largest of the cemetery, with remains of several burials, and the last one *in situ*. In the grave were found eight vases, among them



Figure 4.9 EAM8975. Schematic figurine. Scale 1:2.

two almost complete frying pans (EAM12793 and EAM8959: Mylonas 1959, 85–6, nos 190, 195, figs 146, 148). The figurine lay outside and near the grave, together with three unfired vases (which dissolved during the excavation), two stone palettes, a stone pestle, a zoomorphic stand, obsidian blades and chips, sherds, a sea-shell, a small fragment of a marble cup and a fragment of a marble phiale.

6. *EAM8975. Schematic figurine* (Fig. 4.9).

Mylonas 1959, 88–9, figurine no. 6, fig. 163.6

Marble(?)

Height 33.7 mm; width 11.8 mm (lower), 10.7 mm (upper); maximum thickness 8 mm

Complete schematic figurine of the ‘multipartite’ type (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 53). Mylonas (1959, 88–9) wondered ‘whether or not this small stone is a figurine’. A little above its middle it bears a groove, dividing the artefact into a flat quadrilateral part and another partly rounded on one surface with a distinct protrusion in the middle. Whether this rounded half depicts the head with nose or the belly with navel is questionable. No traces of colour. Here, it is figured in accordance to the first interpretation, based on discussions and the existing publications. Chronology: EH/EC I

It was found outside grave 8, along its east side, between three vases (cup, tankard and a pyxis of EH/EC II type). All these were probably deposited with the last burial, of a middle-aged woman, found undisturbed; at least six persons had already been buried in the grave. Along the west side of the grave two more single-handled cups were found. The figurine could be compared to a schematic one from Paros (Rambach 2000, I, 40, pl. 15.10, 166.9), to another from Tsikniades, Naxos (Philaniotou 2008, 201–02, fig. 20.21; 2017, 264–5, figs 18.4, 18.6) and to a figurine made of shell of unknown provenance (Hattler 2011, cat. no. 31). It was compared, not persuasively, by Theocharis to a fragment of a violin-shaped example from an EH II grave at Raphina (Theocharis 1955, 287, fig. Γ4).

7. *EAM8976. Schematic figurine* (Fig. 4.10).

Mylonas figurine no. 9, 100, fig. 163.9, drawing 62

Marble

Height 102 mm (total), 58 mm (head and neck); width 44 mm (at shoulders), 35 mm (at lower end)

Mended at the neck; incrustations on the back surface; a large chip at the bottom right corner of the torso.

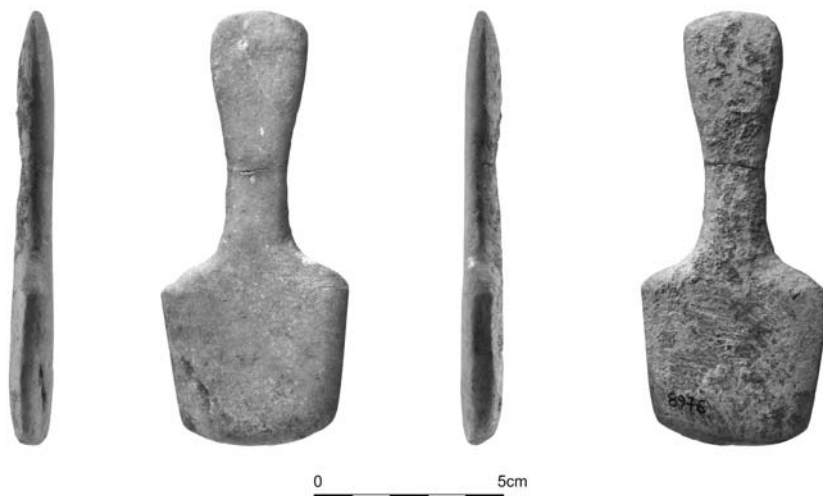


Figure 4.10 EAM8976. Schematic figurine. Scale 1:2.



Figure 4.11 EAM12802. Possible figurine fragment. Scale 1:2.

Schematic figurine, with long neck that ends smoothly at an oval head. The short body starts with the uneven, angular, bending shoulders and continues with the quadrilateral flat body with the lower side curved. The face is slightly convex in profile. At the time of its discovery, traces of colour were discernible on the face; these are not visible today, even under UV light.

It stands between the spade-shaped and the Apeiranthos variety (Renfrew 1969, 14; Sotirakopoulou 205, 54, ft. 153; in both considered to belong to Apeiranthos variety. Pieler 2004, 117, D2, characterised it as spade-shaped). The completely flat body and minimum indication of the head in profile push the figurine stylistically closer to the spade-shaped variety. The closest parallel for the torso's shape can be found in a schematic figurine from the Tsikniades cemetery in Naxos (Philaniotou 2008, 201, fig. 20.20; 2017, 267, figs 18.9, 18.10) found together with an EC I cylindrical pyxis. Chronology: EH/EC I-II (transitional)

In Attica, schematic spade-shaped figurines have been found mainly at Marathon (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 140, pl. 22.11; this volume; Petrakos 1995, 126, fig. 63; Thimme 1977, 432–3, nos 53, 54; Pieler 2004, 117–18, D6–D13), Markopoulo (Theocharis 1955, 286, fig. Γ1), Asteria Glyfadas

(Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 57, fig. 17; this volume, Fig. 12.12) and the Kephisos river at Aegaleo (Asimakou this volume).

The figurine is a surface find in the area between graves 21 and 22 and could have been deposited originally inside or outside one of them. Grave 22 was unfurnished, while grave 21 contained a miniature biconical ceramic jar, a marble phiale with rounded base and a lug, a fragment of a marble pestle with traces of blue colour, an onyx and a limestone bead, and an obsidian core, blade, and chips.

8. EAM12802. Figurine fragment? (Fig. 4.11).

Mylonas 1959, 29, figurine no. 7, fig. 163.7, drawing 62

Marble

Height 73 mm; width at shoulders 56.5 mm; thickness 25 mm

One surface is flat, the other rather curved, partially covered with incrustations. There is no symmetry, as the neck is too wide for the body and the shoulders uneven. It could represent a failed attempt at sculpting a figurine.

Chronology: EH/EC I or II.

It was unearthed at the settlement, House E, Room E2. Two skyphoi, a sauceboat, a spouted jug, sherds,

fragments of a pair of copper tweezers, a stone mace-head, a stone palette, fragments of querns and grinders, obsidian chips and blades, a clay whorl, a piece of red ochre, two fragments of a bone tube, 13 bones and four sea shells were additionally found in the room.

In a building with typical Helladic, as well as Cycladic objects, the presence of a stone figurine – although unfinished – is not usual, but nor is it a *uniquum*, as figurines are sparsely present in Early Cycladic settlements (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 65), with the exception of the settlement of Skarkos on Ios and especially the so-called 'building of the figurines', recognised as the first specific space in an Early Cycladic site where the working of marble took place (Marthari 2017, 133–4). The finds from Room E2 present remarkable similarities with those from the Skarkos building: obsidian blades and equipment for processing and storing mineral colours are present, as well as a mace-head, but abrasives like emery and pumice and marble waste are missing. Since emery is widely accepted as a necessary material for marble processing (Papadatos & Venieris 2017, 483), although of low visibility in an

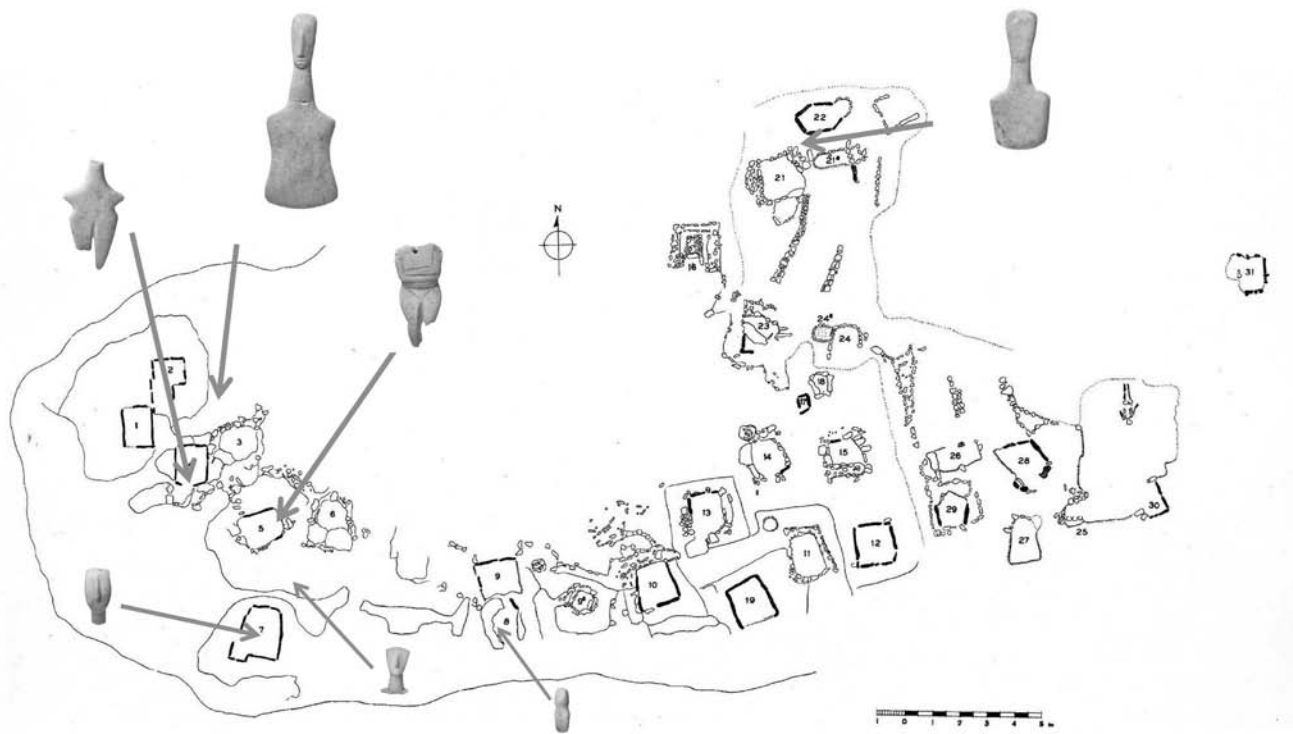


Figure 4.12 Aghios Kosmas North cemetery. Findspots of the figurines (plan after Mylonas 1959, fig. 48).

excavation (Oustinoff 1984, 39), we may not go further than a simple comparison of data for the moment.

Discussion

Seven of the eight marble figurines from Aghios Kosmas were from grave deposits and they were found together with Early Helladic pottery and some other artefacts of the Cycladic tradition, namely stone and ceramic vases. These objects were mostly gathered in graves 3–7 which seem to constitute, together with graves 1 and 2, a separate ‘neighbourhood’ in the west part of the cemetery. Their arrangement seems to be more canonical and widely spaced compared to that of the other graves (Fig. 4.12). Here were found five of the seven figurines, along with ten stone vessels including the two chlorite lentoid pyxides, two complete frying-pans with sherds of six others, and the ceramic pyxis with incised decoration, full of obsidian blades, chips and cores.

Additionally, grave 7 is the largest and richest of the cemetery and stands apart from the rest of the graves; those buried in it must have had strong ties, of unspecified nature, with the islands, and some of the grave objects were Cycladic imports, such as the miniature aryballoid jars containing blue pigment and the stone vases.

The sixth figurine, the earliest in the site, was found in grave 8, very close to the main group, but still clearly apart from it. The seventh figurine, the spade-shaped one, was found close to grave 22 at the northeast of the cemetery. If we consider that this type was indigenous to Attica, rather than the Cyclades (C. Renfrew, pers. comm.), the distinction of the graves containing Cycladic figurines is clear (Fig. 4.13). Six of the figurines lay outside and close to the relevant graves, together with human skeletal remains and other items; only one was found inside the grave (EAM8971, grave 5). We must keep in mind though that Cycladic or Cycladic-type artefacts have been found in many other graves of the North Cemetery, although not in great numbers.

The figurines from Aghios Kosmas are dated to the transitional EH/EC I–II period and the EH/EC II period, with the tiny multipartite figurine belonging to the EC I tradition; a similar chronological range for the establishment and development of the site is accepted (Caskey 1960, 300). The fact that only three out of eight figurines belong to the canonical type is to be noted. The spade-shaped figurine, as clarified during discussion in the symposium at which this paper was originally presented, belongs to a type known almost exclusively from Attica and so may be a local creation; even so, it is an eloquent

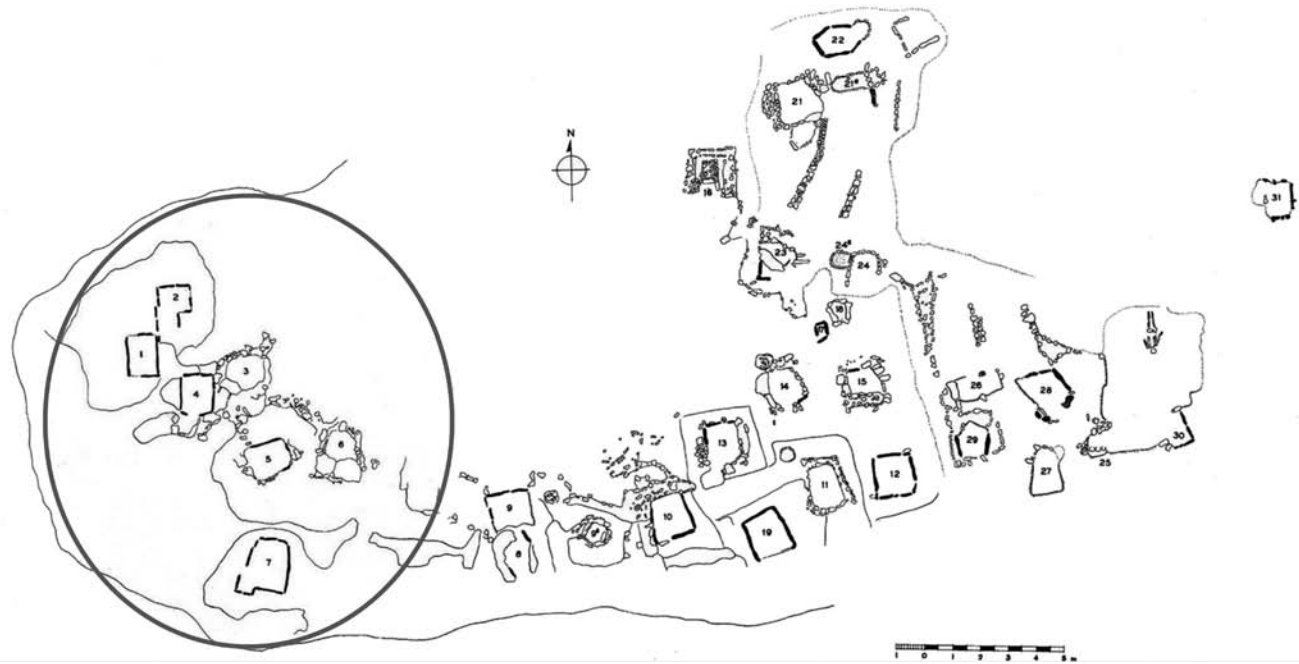


Figure 4.13 Aghios Kosmas North cemetery. Cluster of graves 1–7 (plan after Mylonas 1959, fig. 48).

example of the mutual exchange of ideas, aesthetics, and symbols between Attica and the Cyclades during the Early Bronze Age.

Five of the figurines preserve today, (or at the time of their discovery), traces of colour on the face and body.

Concerning the frying pans, Mylonas stated a) that they ‘seem to have been a favorite type of offering’ and b) that beside the four complete examples, a number of fragments were found ‘belonging to at least 12 other specimens’ (Mylonas 1959, 122–5). The re-examination under the microscope of the 22 sherds illustrated in his publication showed the existence of 13 or 14 frying pans, two of which come from the settlement, verifying Mylonas’ estimate. Thus, 15 or 16 frying pans are grave goods and two came from the settlement. All of them were inadequately fired, which may be an indication of exclusively funerary use. They all have barred handles and incised or impressed-and-incised decoration on the flat bottom and also on the outer surface of the side walls. In one case only the incision is accentuated with a white substance. The motifs are almost restricted to either incised concentric rows of strokes or to a central star motif surrounded by strokes or running spirals. These elements lead to the classical Kampos phase and the following EH/EC II period (Coleman 1985, 219).

From the cemetery and the settlement came further categories of Cycladic artefacts, namely, stone vases (mainly marble), pigment containers, and three pairs of copper tweezers. The latter are the only metal objects found at Aghios Kosmas; one pair comes from House E2 and two from

the cemetery, namely area A of grave no. 3 (together with a marble figurine) and grave no. 23. It is worth noting that the first two were made of almost pure copper, and only that of grave 23, far from the vicinity of the graves with figurines, was of bronze (Mylonas 1959, 79, 101).

The coastal sites of Attica and Euboea present strong affinities in material culture, symbolic thought, and funerary habits with the Cyclades and especially the northern part of the archipelago, as important geographical points in the maritime exchange network (Broodbank 2000, 280, 307–08; Nazou 2010).

So we would suggest that the inhabitants of Aghios Kosmas, as is the case with other coastal sites in Attica, practised the traditional Helladic forms, and at the same time they embraced new ways. The population had its own stable tradition and the new currents brought in via the sea-routes were adapted to local preferences and abilities (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 343). The presence of a local hierarchy, social or other, may be deduced by the accumulation of artefacts of Cycladic type in the group of graves as described above. The concentration of Cycladic or Cycladic-type figurines in the west part of the cemetery indicates that the persons buried in those graves, together with the rest of the community, attributed great importance to their Cycladic connections.

In this paper we don’t aim to explain the rather complex social relationships between Early Bronze Age Attica and the Cyclades through a stylistic or contextual analysis of the artefacts unearthed at the settlement and cemetery

of Aghios Kosmas. The nature of social interaction, intertwined with the exchange of material goods, which characterises the network of island communities and their surroundings during the beginning of the Bronze Age must be examined taking into consideration the ‘culturally elaborated interaction ... and the exchange of symbolic forms’ (Broodbank 2000, 300–01) between the two regions.

Acknowledgements

We would like to express our warmest thanks to the organisers of the symposium for inviting us to present the figurines from Aghios Kosmas, and to Dr Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki, Head Emerita of the Department of Prehistoric, Egyptian and Near Eastern Antiquities for her constant support. Photographs were taken by Irini Miari. We would also like to thank the conservators of the National Archaeological Museum for examining the relevant material and for fruitful discussion. The figurines were examined by Maria Kontaki under a digital microscope (DinoLite) and side lighting, and by Dr Daphne Bika under UV light. The sherds of frying-pans were examined by Evrydiki Velalopoulou under the microscope. The sketch of the repair hole on figurine EAM8971 (Fig. 4.6) is by Pantelis Feleris. The photographs showing the painted details of the figurines EAM8970, EAM8971 and the related drawings (Figs 4.2, 4.3, 4.5, 4.6) are by Maria Kontaki.

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TWO CYCLADIC FIGURINES FROM SUBTERRANEAN CHAMBER III, IN THE EARLY HELLADIC SETTLEMENT AT KOROPI, EASTERN ATTICA

Olga Kakavogianni

The excavation

During salvage excavations in 1984 and 1989, at the north end of Koropi, part of the boundary of an extensive EH settlement was revealed (Kakavogianni 1985; 1986; 1989; 1993), which was organised in at least three building units (Kakavogianni & Douni 2009; Andrikou 2013a). The southern part of the settlement was bounded by a ditch and strong wall (Kakavogianni & Douni 2009, 32). Near the northern boundary of the prehistoric settlement, which was also bounded by a deep and large ditch, five large subterranean chambers and part of a street and houses were excavated (Fig. 5.1). The chambers were dug in the soft bedrock, one next to the other (Fig. 5.2), and the largest had dimensions of 10 m × 6 m × 2.5 m. The constructions in this part of the settlement are dated mainly to the EH II period. A small number of potsherds dated to the end of EH I have been found on the bedrock in the area of the street, and some others from the very end of the EH IIb in the area of the entrance of Chamber VI, north of the EH street. It may be supposed that the chambers were constructed for depositional purposes, and after use they were filled with the rubbish of the settlement (stone tools, animal bones, small objects and a large amount of potsherds, mainly of the EH II period).

Together with the abundant potsherds there were also some clay figurines of the well-known EH II 'slaughtered' type (Phelps 1987, 238–9), and in Chamber III two marble figurines of Cycladic type. Unlike the other finds, the Cycladic idols were not dumped, but had been placed on the north end of a low-built bench, on the east side of Chamber III. The corresponding ceramic material of the first layer of the chamber fill (sauceboats, bowls, jugs, etc) is dated to the very end of EH IIb (Douni 2015; Fig. 5.3).

The figurines

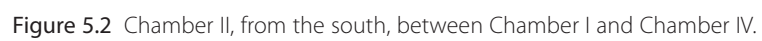
1. *Brauron Museum BE4644 (excavation no. 2239). Marble schematic figurine with head and torso (Fig. 5.4).*

White marble.

Height 65 mm; width 45 mm

The torso has a trapezoidal shape, the head inclines backwards, and on the oval face the nose is indicated by a vertical elevation. The neck is short and there is no indication of division between the head and the breast (see Sotirakopoulou 2005, 281, pl. 26). The shoulders are inclined and the breast, a little swollen, tapers downwards.

On the back there are two breaks, on the right shoulder and the left lower part.



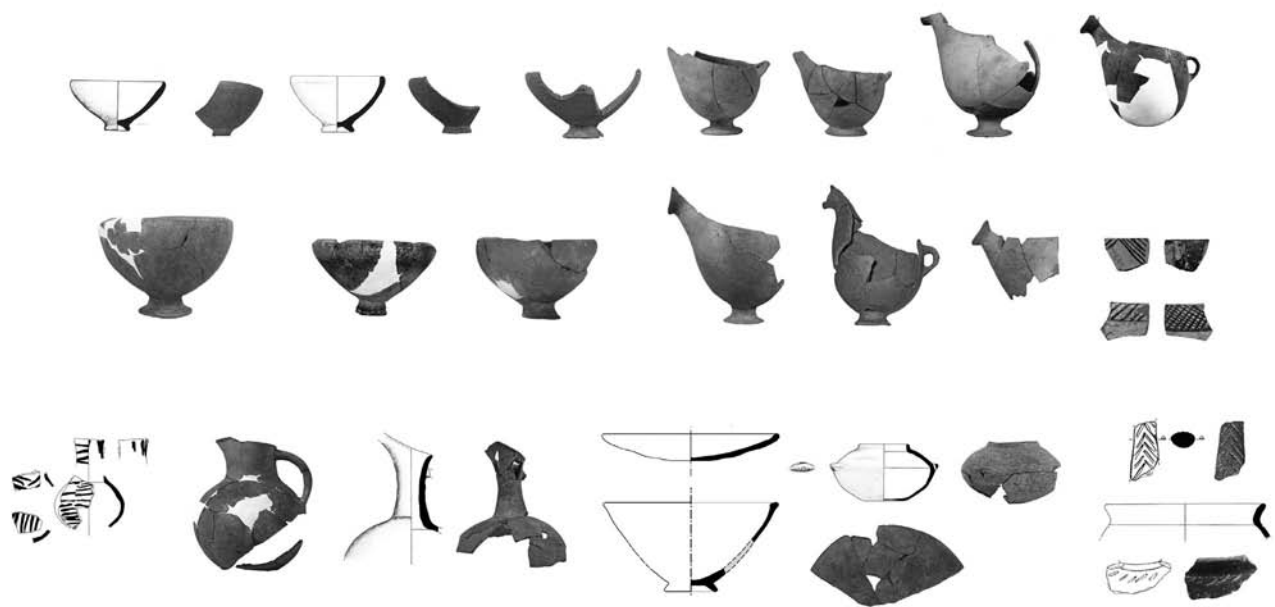


Figure 5.3 Pottery from the oldest layer of the fill of Chamber III.



Figure 5.4 Schematic figurine (number 1). Scale 1:2.

It is of Apeiranthos type, dated to the beginning of Keros-Syros Culture, EC II period (Renfrew 1991, 91, fig. 5; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 51).

2. *Brauron Museum BE4645 (excavation no. 2240). Waist, pelvis and upper legs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 5.5).*

White marble with yellowish colouration.

Height 80 mm; width 65 mm.

Part of an upstanding female figurine with a slight inclination forward. It is preserved from the abdomen to the knees, and the contours of the body are a little curved. On the front the incised pubic triangle extends across the width of the belly, which is flat (cf. Doumas 1978, 54 no. 35, 87 no. 92; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 298–9, pl. 48, 50). The legs are divided by a deep groove (cf. Doumas 1978, 35 no. 54, 87 no. 92; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 307–8, pl. 62), which

enters the apex of the pubic triangle (Doumas 1978, 54 no. 35, 87 no. 92; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 300–1, pl. 52). The back is flat and the buttocks divided by a shallow groove, which continues up to the spinal column as a simple engraved line (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 303 f, pl. 56).

It is of the Spedos variety and is dated to the Keros-Syros Culture, the EC II period (Marangou 1990, 149, fig. 153; Renfrew 1991, 88, fig. 57; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 48, 51, 100, no. 16).

From the naturalistic figurines with known provenance from the Cyclades (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 65), a certain number have been found in EC settlements, but the present figurine, and another from the acropolis of Brauron (Kalogeropoulos this volume), are the only ones from Attica found in a settlement. The findspot, on a built bench at the base, at the east side of Chamber III, indicates special care was taken to place it and not to throw it in the fill of the chamber (for the meaning and use Cycladic figurines see Sotirakopoulou 2005, 74).

Periods of habitation in the EH settlement at Koropi

There are two distinct chronological phases of the prehistoric settlement at Koropi, EH I and EH II. Although traces of EH I were found scattered over different parts of the site, in the northwest building unit of the settlement a house of considerable size was built during this period



Figure 5.5 Waist, pelvis and upper legs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (number 2). Scale 1:2.



Figure 5.6 Koropi, EH II phase IIa pottery.

(Kakavogianni & Douni 2009, 390–1). Most architectural remains discovered so far date to EH II. At the end of EH II, the site was abandoned.

Within EH II, three phases of occupation have been distinguished so far (Douni 2015; forthcoming). The earliest, phase IIa, does not include many architectural remains. Pottery from this phase, which can be dated to the beginning of EH II, includes red-burnished ware, with affinities from the EH I period, as well as new ceramic classes such as Urfirnis ware and yellow-blue mottled ware. New shapes such as sauceboats and pedestalled bowls

coexist with old shapes (Fig 5.6), such as different types of jars or shallow bowls.

The second phase, IIb, is the period of most of the excavated remains on the site: the floruit of the settlement. Pottery from this phase, dated to the late phase of EH II, includes shapes (cooking and storage jars, and pots for consuming the food and drink, *i.e.* plates, bowls, sauceboats, jugs, cups) and classes typical of the period (Fig. 5.7). Apart from Urfirnis ware and yellow-blue mottled ware already present in phase IIa, new classes such as fine painted ware (Fig. 5.8), mainly with Cycladic



Figure 5.7 Koropi, EH II phase IIb pottery.

affinities (Kakavogianni 1993, 166, pl. 18a), become more popular during the period.

In the third phase IIc, the same buildings still existed but underwent several changes and alterations. As for pottery, apart from ceramic categories and typical shapes of EH II, which continued to exist, some new elements appeared. New ceramic groups characterised by new technical elements (e.g. possible identification of potter's wheel), as well as new forms (e.g. tankards: Fig. 5.8), show indirect affinities with the Lefkandi I/Kastri cultural group, dating to the end of the EB II. However, typical shapes of this group, such as Trojan cups, wheel-thrown plates or the *depas amphikypellon* don't appear in the site (Kakavogianni 1993, 166). It seems that the settlement at Koropi continues to exist during this period, following a different cultural evolution.

Relationship between Koropi and the Cyclades during EB II

The identification of products imported to the site of Koropi has highlighted regions and sites with which the site was

directly or indirectly related. The Cyclades, thus, appear as the region with which the site maintained direct links, from the period of EB I, which become more intense as we advance into EB II. Apart from some classes such as fine painted wares (Fig. 5.9) or burnished and incised wares, whose Cycladic provenance is distinct (Kakavogianni 1993, pl. 18b; Andrikou 2013b, 178, figs 10–13) at least for some of the pots, other classes such as fine Urfinis seem to have good parallels in Cycladic sites (e.g. Agia Irini, Phylakopi). Furthermore, it seems that Koropi was in contact with specific islands. Due to its geographical position, vases or ceramic groups from the northern Cyclades, such as Syros and Kea, predominate. However, the number of objects from more remote Cycladic islands, such as the southern Cyclades (Naxos, Keros, Amorgos, Ios, Thera, Melos) is not negligible.

Among the Cycladic sites, Ayia Irini has the closest links with Koropi (Douni forthcoming). In fact, Koropi does not only receive imported products from Ayia Irini, but it seems that it also sends local products such as yellow-blue mottled sauceboats to this island. It may be concluded that, even if Koropi is not a coastal site, it seems to play a significant role in the economic and cultural environment of the EB II central Aegean.

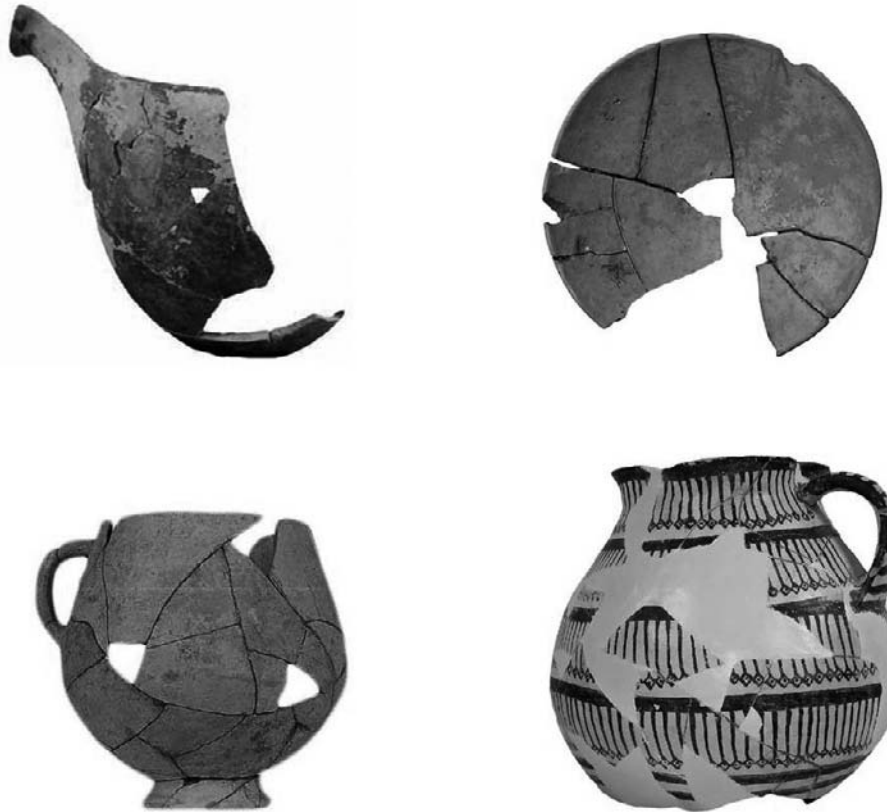


Figure 5.8 Koropi, EH II phase IIc pottery.

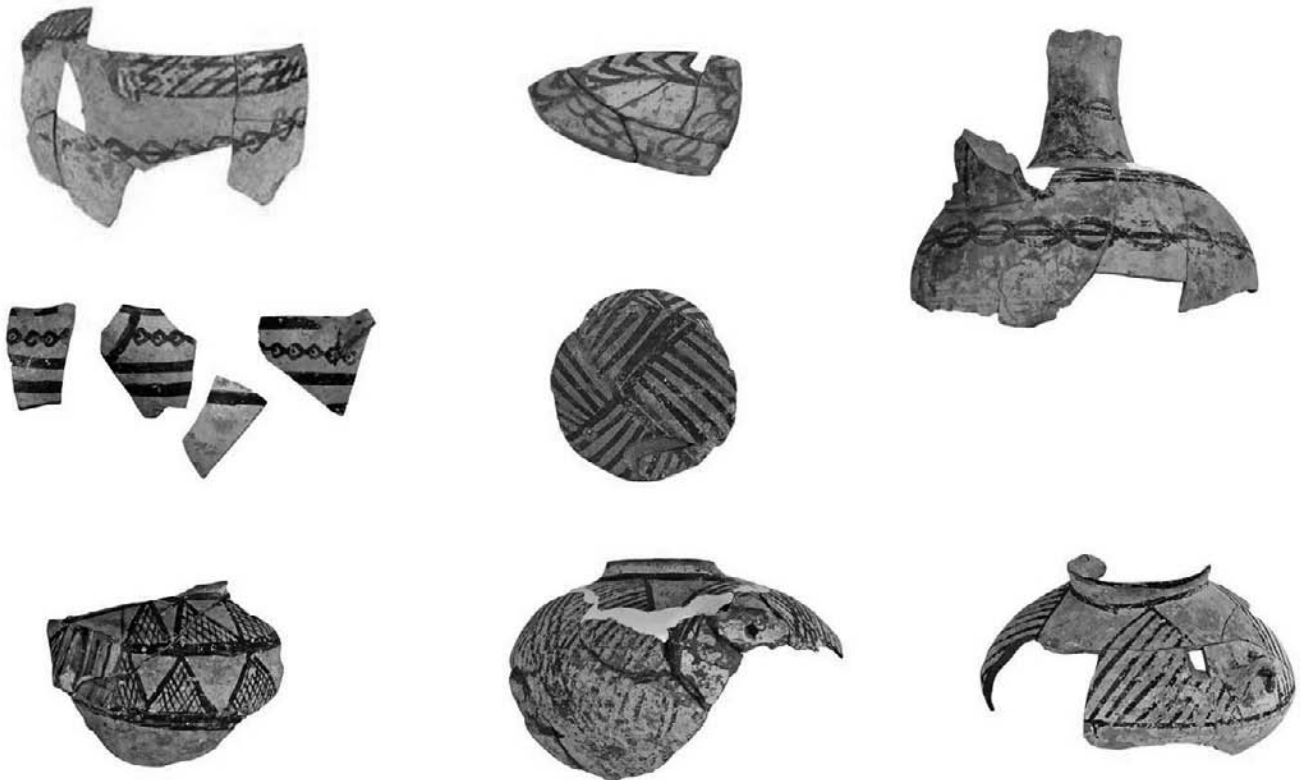


Figure 5.9 Koropi, EH II, painted pottery.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express thanks to Dr Marthari for the invitation to present the Cycladic figurines from the EH settlement at Koropi at the symposium. I also thank A. Petrou (Museum of Brauron) for the new photos of the objects. Photos and drawings in Figure 5.3 are by K. Douni and S. Sakari. Finally I am obliged to thank INSTAP for the financial support for the conservation and documentation of the finds from Koropi.

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CYCLADIC FIGURINES FROM TSEPI, MARATHON

Maria Pantelidou Gofa

In the Early Helladic cemetery of Tsepi five Cycladic-type figurines have been found (Marinatos 1970; Pantelidou Gofa 2005; 2016). These can be classified in three varieties: three are marble, spade-shaped; one is anthropomorphic and is made of shell; the fifth is marble, violin-shaped, preserved only in its lower section.

No. 453 Marble figurine, complete, spade-shaped (Fig. 6.1).

Height 113 mm; height of neck 60 mm; width 38 mm; thickness 9 mm

Long neck tapers toward its curved top. The body is flat, trapezoidal with rounded edges and angular shoulders. Flat in profile.

No. 304 Marble figurine, broken in three pieces, restored, spade-shaped (Fig. 6.2).

Height 280 mm; height of neck 155 mm; width 135 mm; thickness 17 mm

Long neck, elliptical in section, tapers toward a horizontal top. The body is flat, trapezoidal, broadens at the shoulders. Flat in profile.

No. 298 Marble figurine, broken in two pieces, restored, small chip at the neck, spade-shaped (Fig. 6.3).

Height 200 mm; height of neck 102 mm; width 73 mm; thickness 7 mm

Long neck, elliptical in section, widening toward the shoulders. The body is trapezoidal with two angular stumps at the shoulders. Flat in profile.

No. 454 Shell figurine, almost complete, Louros type (Fig. 6.4).

Height 80 mm; height of neck 32 mm; width 18 mm; thickness 6 mm

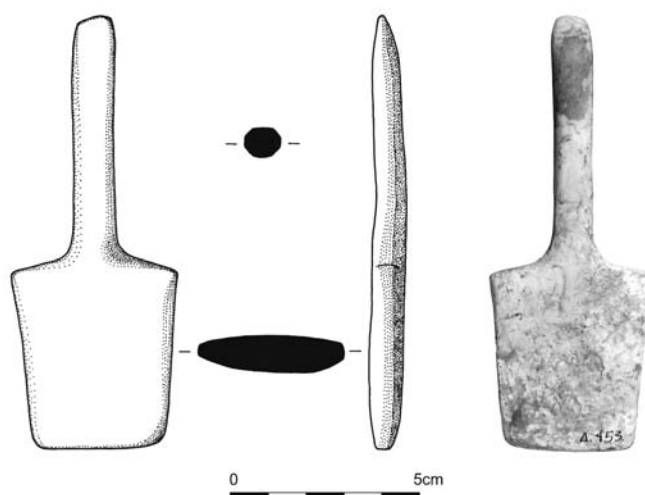


Figure 6.1 Spade-shaped marble figurine no. 453. Scale 1:2.

Head triangular, long neck, body with two angular stumps at the shoulders and two curved at the bulging thighs, legs separated, one cut obliquely. Surface flat, profile curved.

No. 658 Lower part of a violin-shaped marble figurine with surface notches at the edge (Fig. 6.5).

Preserved height 55 mm; maximum width 37 mm; thickness 8 mm

Rhomboid, cut transversely at the waist. Base curved, widens symmetrically up to the mid-point and then tapers to the broken waist. Flat in profile.

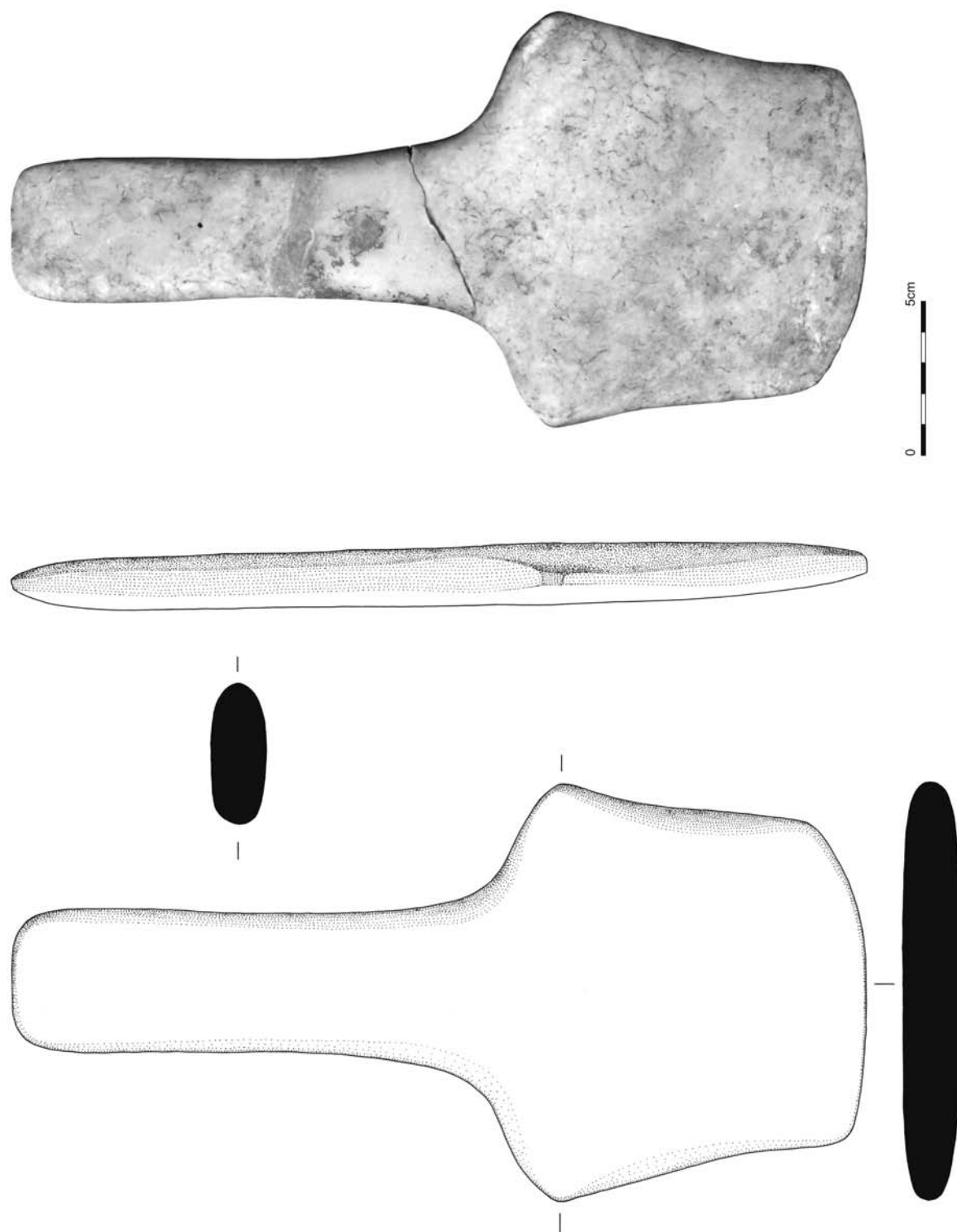


Figure 6.2 Spade-shaped marble figurine no. 304. Scale 1:2.

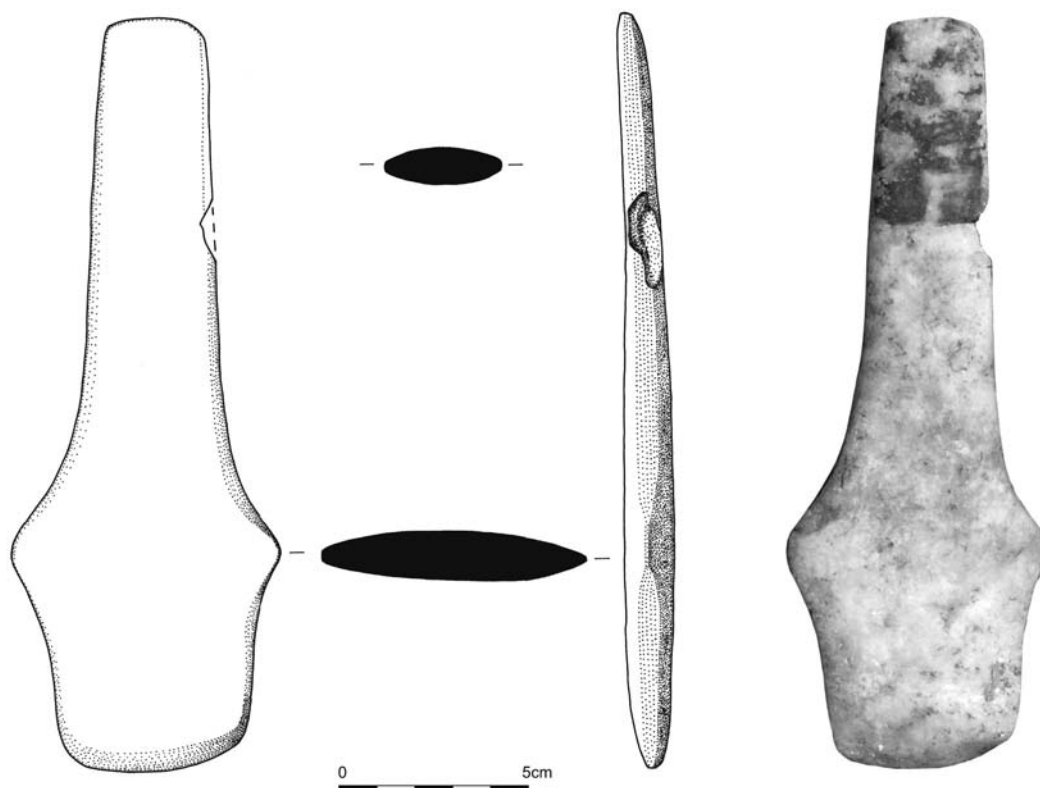


Figure 6.3 Spade-shaped marble figurine no. 298. Scale 1:2.

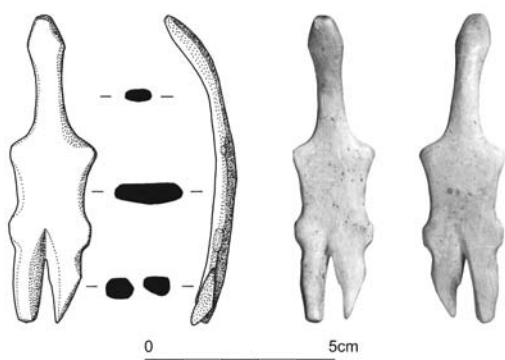


Figure 6.4 Louros-type shell figurine no. 454. Scale 1:2.

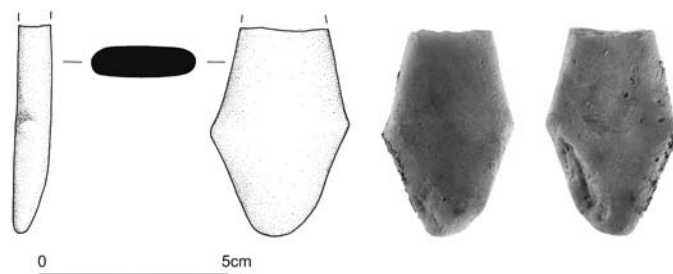


Figure 6.5 Fragmentary violin-shaped marble figurine no. 658. Scale 1:2.

Figurines are generally rather rare finds at Tsepi. The five found there come from three or four different locations within the cemetery. Of the three spade-shaped ones, No. 453 (Fig. 6.1) was found in grave 19 and has been published (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 141, pl. 22). The larger two, Nos 304 and 298 (Figs 6.2 and 6.3) in the Marathon Museum catalogue, are listed as coming from Deposit A, which is not precisely located.

According to the excavation notebook (kept by the local epimelete), Deposit A was the name given to a particular location where a great concentration of sherds was noted,

lying not much higher than the ancient ground level. It seems that this pottery find was preserved *in situ* pending a visit by S. Marinatos, but no further mention is made of it. This location must be near Baulk 38 (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 222) and the pit of Deposit 39 (Pantelidou Gofa 2016), but it is certainly distinct from the latter.

We have more precise information on figurine No. 454 (Fig. 6.4). Again according to the notebook, it was found in square 26 of the old excavation grid. However, we could not find further reference points and we were unable to place it in the overlaid grid of the new excavation (after 1997);



Figure 6.6 Plain amphoriskoi found with figurine no. 454 (K648, K40 and K646).

it should have been found in the general location between graves 9 and 30 (see Pantelidou Gofa 2005, General Plan of the Cemetery), where there is a pebble-covered area, as yet unexcavated. This may cover another deposit: the excavation notebook mentions that some broken vessels and large stones were found together with figurine No. 454 at a depth of 0.80 m from the modern level. These finds may indicate a deposit context, although this is by no means certain. Most interesting among the pottery recorded in the Museum catalogue are three plain amphoriskoi which are distinct from the numerous examples of the shape found in Deposit 39 in the following ways: broad base, very squat conical body and tall cylindrical neck (Nos K.648, K.40, K.646: Fig. 6.6). One of these pieces (K646) was so ill-formed that it could not have functioned in everyday use, pointing to its funerary character.

Fragment No. 658 (Fig. 6.5) was found in Deposit Pit 39, at a depth of 1.30–1.40 m from benchmark (0.30–0.40 from the built rim of this pit; Pantelidou Gofa 2016, 233–4, pls 114–15).

In the Cyclades, we find two instances with similarities to the first three figurines from Tsepi in the very elongated neck and trapezoidal body resembling a spade (Rambach 2000, pl. 13: 16.17), although the island examples are smaller. Much closer parallels are the two schematic figurines from Grave 103 in Paros (Tsountas 1898, 159, pl. 11,7: EAM4821.4; Tsountas 1898, 159, pl. 11, 13: EAM4821.5) and, generally the Apeiranthos type (Marthari 2017, 301, fig. 20.8). We know of three other figurines, of unknown provenance, which present the same spade-like body, straight sides and elongated neck: two are in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 585, fig. 194) and are

considered as coming from Marathon: it should be noted, however, that the two marble vases belonging to the same group of finds are completely alien to the cemetery. The third figurine is part of the Goulandris Collection (Doulas 1984, 64, no. 18). The only similar figurine from a recent excavation, at least for now, comes from Glyphada in Attica (Petrakos 2015, 13, fig. 2a; Kaza-Papageorgiou this volume), as well a second one from a destroyed grave found in a salvage excavation at Kato Souli, Marathon (I thank Lambrini Siskou and Maria Syrigou for allowing me to refer to their unpublished find). See also Kostanti & Christopoulou (this volume) for a less exact parallel from Aghios Kosmas.

Anthropomorphic figurine No. 454 is made out of shell, most probably of the species *Charonia*, i.e., the well-known Triton, and is of the Louros type, with particularly accentuated buttocks. A different type of shell, *Spondylus gaederopus*, seems to have been used in making a figurine from Mersinia, Kythnos, as well as a few other Cycladic pieces (Papangelopoulou 2017).

No. 658 is probably violin-shaped, similar to a complete figurine from Saliagos (Evans & Renfrew 1968, fig. 76, 1, pl. XLIII, 1). A comparable, but slightly asymmetrical piece, also preserved only in its bottom half, was found in an EC I grave at Tsikniades, Naxos (Philaniotou 2017, 264, fig. 18.2). No. 658, dated by its secure closed context in the Later Chalcolithic Period (for which date, see Pantelidou Gofa 2016, 251–60), is within the chronological framework of the Saliagos finds.

The sparse figurine finds in Tsepi lead to the conclusion that the earliest examples were made in the Cyclades. Soon afterwards, however, within EH I a local simplified spade-shaped type is produced, and this type prevails in Attica.

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FRAGMENT OF AN EARLY CYCLADIC FOLDED-ARM FIGURINE FROM THE ACROPOLIS OF BRAURON

Konstantinos Kalogeropoulos

Introduction

A marble Early Cycladic figurine fragment (Fig. 7.2) discovered at Brauron in 1962 is the main focus of this paper. Ioannis Papadimitriou, at that time General Director of Antiquities, discovered it in the area of the ‘new museum’ at the eastern foot of the so called ‘prehistoric acropolis’ of Brauron (Fig. 7.1, C). Despite the fact that this figurine was published immediately with an illustration by Anastasios Orlandos in the *Ergon* of the Archaeological Society at Athens (Orlandos 1962, 36, pl. 48) it did not attract much attention among researchers of the EC coroplastic art. The purpose of this paper is to present this figurine fragment and to draw some preliminary conclusions regarding its dating and its cultural significance.

Natural setting

The coastal ‘prehistoric acropolis’ of Brauron consists of a 46 m high, roughly sickle-shaped, limestone hill, and it is located at the estuary of the river Erasinos (Fig. 7.1). The site is located in a pivotal position for navigation to and from the Cyclades. It is situated along the eastern border of Attica, on the eastern edge of the fertile plain of Mesogeia, c. 10 km northeast of Markopoulo, between Loutsa to the north and Porto Raphti to the south. To the east of the

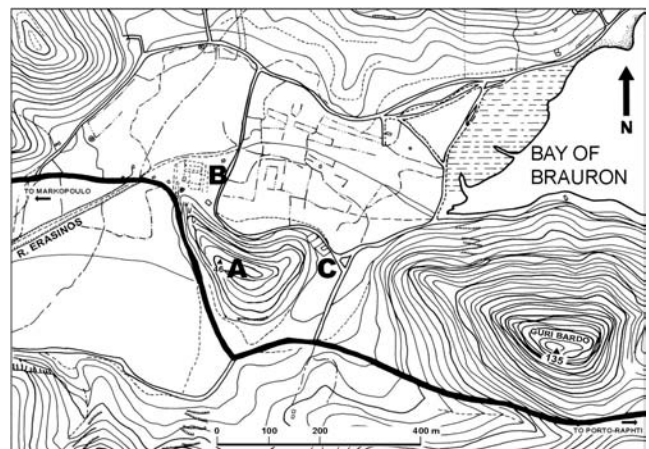


Figure 7.1 Brauron. Plan of site showing the area of the museum (C), where the figurine fragment was found (after Kalogeropoulos 2010, fig. 1).

acropolis lies the deep bay of Brauron. This was a well-protected natural harbour which could accommodate a considerable number of boats, therefore fulfilling one of the criteria for a trade junction point. The arable land west of the site could sustain the population (Kalogeropoulos 2010, 212). Recent palynological analysis from the coastal plain of Brauron points to cereal cultivation already during the Early Helladic period (Triantaphyllou *et al.* 2010). Furthermore, studies from coastal deposits have confirmed

that the coastal plain of Brauron had constant fresh water input during the entire third and the second millennia BC (Triantaphyllou *et al.* 2010, 18–20, fig. 6).

Consequently, Brauron enjoyed good agricultural resources and ample water. It possessed a natural port and controlled a large tract of land near the sea. It therefore comes as no surprise that the archaeological investigations conducted there under the auspices of the Archaeological Society at Athens revealed evidence for continuous human activity at the area of the coastal acropolis of Brauron, from the Middle Neolithic period (Pantelidou Gofa 1997, 124) to LH IIIB2 (Efstratiou 2000, pl. 21 lower right). The excavated evidence studied so far by this author suggests that the acropolis of Brauron was mainly occupied in the Shaft Grave Era (Kalogeropoulou 2010) and in the early Mycenaean period. During these periods the acropolis served as an important sociopolitical centre where undoubtedly religious activities were carried out. This is confirmed by the abundance of high-status artefacts and imports discovered, including ritual paraphernalia (Kalogeropoulou 2019, 226–8, 231).

Context

There are three different sources of information regarding the figurine fragment: (a) the publication of Orlandos (Orlandos 1962, 35–7), (b) the excavation diaries of Papadimitriou, kept in the Archives of the Archaeological Society at Athens, and finally (c) the catalogue of the Archaeological Museum in Brauron. If one combines all this evidence, then one can safely conclude that the figurine fragment under consideration was found on the eastern slopes of the hill, in the area of the foundations of the Archaeological Museum of Brauron (Fig. 7.1, C). However, in the area of the Archaeological Museum, the rocky formation of the surface and extensive damage due to modern agricultural activity have affected the site's stratigraphy. Only scattered and very thin layers were found and for this reason it was impossible, as the excavator notes, to conduct a systematic stratigraphic excavation there (Orlandos 1962, 35).

The exact location and the original context of the figurine fragment are unclear. Papadimitriou found here not only domestic remains of the Middle Helladic and Mycenaean periods and two MH graves with no grave goods, but also unstratified Neolithic, EH, MH and Mycenaean sherds (Orlandos 1962, 35). It is, therefore, perfectly possible that the presence of the figurine in that area may not be the result of activities that occurred at that particular location, but may rather relate to material that has been washed down from a terrace further up or

from the top of the hill. The recovery of EH pottery on the acropolis during the excavation period in 1950 by Theocharis strengthens this suggestion (Theocharis 1950, 188–91, figs 2–4, 6β). This could mean that there is no clear indication that the figurine fragment was associated with an EH/EC burial.

Catalogue

Fragment of a folded-arm figurine of the Spedos variety (Fig. 7.2).

Site name: Brauron, Attica.

Spatial position on the site: eastern foot of the acropolis; area of the Archaeological Museum.

Museum catalogue number: Brauron Museum, catalogue 3, 1 ('Prehistoric Pottery and Tools of Brauron'), inv. No. 37.

Material: made of white to light brownish marble with small proportions of silver mica. According to Orlandos (1962, 36) the marble is possibly 'Parian'.

Preserved part of body: upper torso; fragment from the lower part of the neck to the line under the left folded arm. Head, upper part of the neck, lower part of the torso and lower body are missing. Preserved maximum height: 61 mm.

Other relevant dimensions: maximum width at the shoulders 80 mm; maximum thickness 30 mm. Its height from the shoulder to the elbow is 54 mm.

Type: folded-arm figurine

Variety: Spedos

Condition: the surface is polished, the back side is patinated with a brownish-yellow incrustation. The breaks at the neck and under the left folded arm are ancient.

Description: the robust upper torso has a trapezoidal shape. The broad and angular shoulders are rounded but their outline and their proportion is not exactly symmetrical. The left shoulder is somehow more pronounced than the right. Upper arms and left lower arm are distinguished from the torso by grooves giving the impression of being plastically rendered. Fingers are not denoted on the hand. Breasts are highlighted plastically, particularly visible in profile and from the underside. They have the form of slender rectangles placed closed to one another. At the back a broad shallow vertical groove indicates the spinal column.

Earlier published references: Orlandos 1962, 36, pl. 48; Daux 1963, 712, fig. 21; Themelis 1970, 6; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 57 note 233.

Type, style and date

Since the figurine fragment was found in an unstratified context its chronological classification should be based primarily on typological and stylistic criteria.

According to Colin Renfrew, all types and varieties of the canonical figurines, to which category our folded-arm figurine of the Spedos variety has a rightful place, belong exclusively to the Keros-Syros Phase of EC II (Renfrew 1991, 87). Stylistically, the figurine fragment

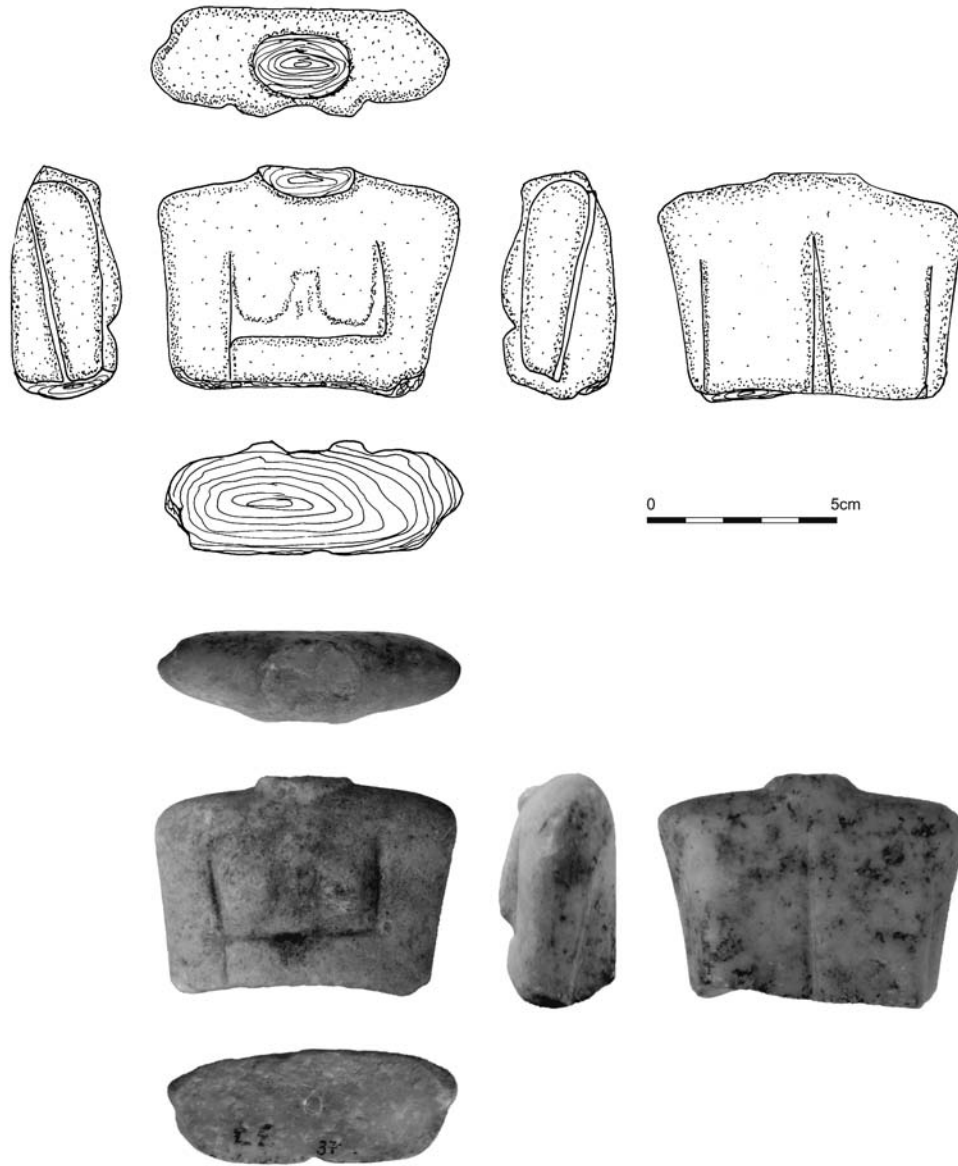


Figure 7.2 Brauron, Acropolis. Brauron Museum inv. no. 37. Neck and upper torso of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

from Brauron presents certain details such as the robust torso, the plastic modelling of the breasts and the absence of incision, which allow us to attribute it to stylistic group A of the early Spedos variety (Getz-Gentle 2001, 38–43). According to Getz-Gentle the early Spedos A variety was probably made on Naxos (Getz-Gentle 2001, 38). It is, therefore, perhaps no coincidence that a close parallel to our fragment from Brauron is a complete figurine of the Spedos type from grave 6 of the cemetery of Karvounolakkoi on south Naxos excavated by Klon Stephanos in 1903 and published by Giorgos Papathanasopoulos in 1962 (Papathanasopoulos 1962,

112, pl. 43y). The specimen from Brauron and the figurine from Naxos share a number of features such as the outline of the upper torso, the rendering and the asymmetry of the rounded shoulders and the modelling of the breasts. The original depositional context of the Naxian specimen is lost, which makes its precise date difficult, since the cemetery of Karvounolakkoi comprises graves dating both to EC I and EC II (Renfrew 1972, 518 no. 20; Rambach 2017, 82–3). Nevertheless, the figurine from Karvounolakkoi gives us not only an indication for a possible Naxian connection but also an idea of how the original figurine from Brauron might have looked like.

The relation of the figurine to the contemporary situation at the Acropolis

The discovery of an EC figurine of the Keros-Syros Phase of the EC II culture at Brauron raises a number of questions. The most fundamental of these concerns the relation of this figurine fragment to other contemporary developments on the site.

There is insufficient evidence for understanding the function of the acropolis of Brauron during the third millennium BC. The only relevant published material comprises the stray finds from the north slope of the acropolis mentioned and depicted by Theocharis, which were found without associated domestic or funerary architecture (Theocharis 1950, 188). With respect to this meagre situation, it is premature to draw any conclusion about the nature of the site during EH II.

However, some basic observations should be made concerning first the chronological ranges of human activity at Brauron during EH II, and second the presence of objects of Early Cycladic style at this coastal site of eastern Attica.

The pottery published by Theocharis in 1950, carrying some chronological interest, is not abundant but it is enough to imply that it does not seem to belong to a single phase of EH II. The deep bowls with T-shaped rim (Theocharis 1950, fig. 4α) and those with thickened ‘rolled out’ rim (Theocharis 1950, fig. 4β) are typical shapes for the second phase of the coastal settlement of Aghios Kosmas in western Attica (Mylonas 1959, 23, fig. 54 nos 1–2 [S-3]). The latter settlement is dated by Joseph Maran to a late phase of EH II, contemporary with Lerna IIID, Raphina house A and Rouf (Maran 1998, 81, pls 80–81). However, the sauceboats identified by Theocharis as the most common fine undecorated pottery shape on the acropolis of Brauron (Theocharis 1950, 189 fig. 3 α–γ, ε–ζ) have been regarded by David French as *Urfirnis* EH II material (French 1972, fig. 10; Forsén 1992, 118–19) associated with groups VI–VII and VIII of Eutresis (French 1972, 19) and therefore contemporary with Lerna IIIA–C, the first settlement of Aghios Kosmas and Askitarion III (Maran 1998, pls 80–81). In other words, the sauceboats from Brauron, a shape which according to current thinking may represent ceremonial vessels (Wiencke 2011, 349) seem to belong to an earlier EH II phase.

The figurine fragment of the Spedos variety published here (Fig. 7.2) represents only one class of Cycladic-style objects discovered in Brauron. Theocharis had already published in 1950 a photograph of an incised pottery fragment from the acropolis, which he thought was probably an Early Cycladic import (Theocharis 1950, 191, fig. 6β). The photograph of the fragment alone does

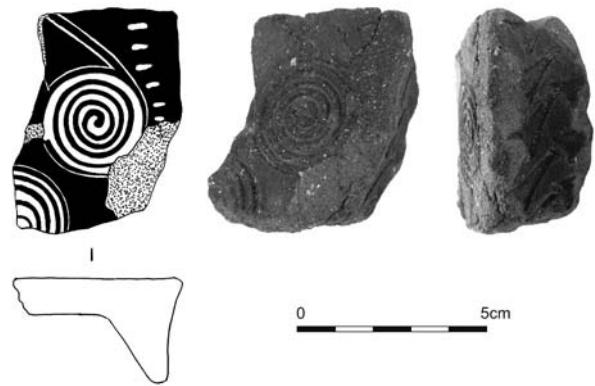


Figure 7.3 Brauron, Acropolis. Brauron Museum inv. no. 83. Fragment of a terracotta pyxis lid. Left: drawing of the decorated upper surface and profile. Right: view of the disc and the side walls.

not provide any specific chronological help but another fragment of Cycladic character stored in the magazines of the museum of Brauron and labelled with the indication ‘Acropolis of Brauron, 29 July 1961’ is perhaps of greater chronological interest.

This fragment, published here for the first time (Fig. 7.3), seems to have belonged to a lid of a pyxis decorated with stamped spirals on the horizontal disc and with a double row of stamped oblong and sharp triangles on the vertical side walls, in both cases on the exterior.

The lid is made of coarse clay containing large amounts of silver mica and numerous very small (1 mm) to pebble-sized (8 mm) grits, the largest of white colour. Its vertical sidewalls are 28 mm in height, the disc has a preserved length of 61 mm and a preserved width of 40 mm. The surviving part of the disc shows two stamped tangent spirals toward its periphery bordered by incised lines. Due to the fragmentary condition the original composition is difficult to reconstruct. Its full diameter was c. 100 to 110 mm.

The fracture (interior: brown 7.5 YR 5/3, exterior: dark grey 5 YR 4/1), the colour and treatment of the surface of the lid (colour: dark greyish brown 10 YR 4/2, side wall burnished) is similar to the stamped or incised dark-surfaced and burnished ware, a popular Cycladic ware of the Keros-Syros phase decorated with stamped concentric circles, spirals, and small triangles (*Kerbschnitt*). The globular pyxis is one of the most common shapes of this ware (Marthari 2008, 77–8).

The profile of the lid points also to the chronological horizon of the Cycladic Keros-Syros phase (Fig. 7.3, left). An almost exact parallel for this profile can be found on the lid of a pyxis found in the metallurgical pit near the bay of Raphina (Theocharis 1951, 87, fig. 13). The recovered material from this deposit shows strong Cycladic influence

and it is certainly earlier than the EH II late settlement of Raphina (EH II early to EH II developed in the terms of Maran 1998, 78 with note 888). This means that in mainland terms the lid from Brauron can hardly be dated later than the early or developed EH II period, although an earlier date is also possible, especially in view of the stamped decoration of its sidewalls. The use of stamped oblong and sharp triangles on these is characteristic for the decoration of frying pans of the 'mainland type' (e.g. Mylonas 1959, 85–6, ill. 146 no 190) but the closest parallel for the stamped pattern on the specimen from Brauron is the Kerbschnitt decoration on one of the so-called house models found by Christos Tsountas in the pit of Kato Akrotiri on Amorgos (EAM5344: Rambach 2000a, 189, pl. 75, 1; 186, 2), which represents a mixed context of ritual character (Rambach 2000b, 418 note 1814, 421). The 'house model' from Kato Akrotiri is dated before the Keros-Syros phase, to the chronological horizon of the Kampos group, the intermediate period between EC I and EC II (Matthäus 1980, 161) or EC Ib in the terminology of Jörg Rambach (Rambach 2000b, 446 fig. 26; Rambach 2017).

Conclusion

The type, variety, technique and material suggest that the figurine of the Spedos variety was brought to Brauron from the Cyclades, probably but not necessarily from Naxos, where the best parallel is to be found. Owing to the lack of stratigraphy, the folded-arm figurine from the excavated area under the archaeological museum in Brauron cannot be confirmed as being directly linked with structures at this context. On the contrary, the area that produced the most reliable EH II material in Brauron is the north slope of the acropolis, where datable ceramic finds belong to several phases of EH II. This could have been the original place of deposition of the figurine.

The EC figurine fragment was probably in use during the period when the acropolis of Brauron was an important centre of social and perhaps ceremonial interaction, as confirmed at least by the large number of fine undecorated saucers.

Besides the EC figurine, the presence of imported EC pottery from the Cyclades appears to reflect the same phenomenon. These potsherds are indicative of the fact that during the Keros-Syros phase, if not earlier, the acropolis of Brauron attracted attention from the Cyclades.

The lid fragment of a pyxis from the acropolis was also presented in this paper because it represents the earliest secure evidence of Cycladic influence in Brauron. It should be correlated either with assemblages of the Kampos group

(transitional EC I to EC II) or with assemblages of the Keros-Syros phase (early EC II).

The two sophisticated Cycladic objects at the acropolis of Brauron, a marble figurine and a clay pyxis with stamped decoration, have many implications and raise important questions. One of these concerns the historical context for the appearance of such Cycladic items in Brauron. In order to answer this question one must look first at the Greek mainland or specifically Attica as a whole. This is, for example, what David Wilson did few decades ago in the case of eastern Attica, especially in relation to Kea. According to him 'it may have been a need for metals', particularly silver-rich lead, which attracted people from the Cyclades to Eastern Attica and especially to the Lavrion area (Wilson 1987, 44–6).

Another important aspect that needs consideration is the use of Cycladic figurines as religious symbols in the non-Cycladic context, in this case Attica, and in a wider sense the Greek mainland. The symbolism of the Cycladic figurines in the Greek mainland is not necessarily the same as that which they had in their original culture in the Cycladic islands. For this reason more mainland closed deposits are required in order to define the function of the Cycladic figurines in these areas and their relationship with other ritual objects of the mainland. Certainly in the case of the acropolis of Brauron, new evidence is required to answer this question.

Acknowledgements

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AN EARLY HELLADIC FIGURINE FROM LOUTSA, ATTICA

Maria Stathi

Find location

Loutsa is part of the municipality of Spata-Artemida and is located on the east coastline of Attica, between Raphina and Markopoulo (Fig. 8.1). The schematic marble figurine (Brauron Museum, Inventory number BE7102) was found in 2009 during a rescue excavation at a plot on Arkadias Street (OT 45-ΠΕ 2^η) in the Alyki area of Loutsa. Alyki, as may be deduced from the archaeological finds, has been inhabited since prehistoric times. About 1 km southeast of the plot on Arkadias Street, on the beach of Loutsa and more specifically on the peninsula where the seaside chapel of Agios Spyridon and Agios Panteleimon is located, Theocharis first identified Neolithic sherds in the early 1950s, and thus included the site in the catalogue with the rest of the Neolithic settlements of Attica (Petropoulakou & Pentazos 1973, 161, site 3). Architectural remains of the EH I period were excavated during 1995–96 by Klairi Eustratiou 600 m southwest of the plot on Arkadias Street (Efstratiou, Stathi & Mathioudaki 2010, 221–4). Furthermore, during a rescue excavation of the 2nd Ephorate in 2009, LN-EH I habitation deposits came to light 650 m east of the same plot, on one side of a low hill.

The context

At the plot which yielded the figurine presented here, two graves of the Early Helladic period were excavated (Figs 8.2–8.3). Their structure resembles, as far as the basic features are concerned, the graves of Aghios Kosmas and those from Tsepi at Marathon. They are pits of ellipsoidal plan, with walls lined with stones and a narrow entrance on their east side. Both graves were covered with soil. In their interior, a large number of bones, mainly long bones and skulls, had accumulated randomly opposite the entrance. This means that the graves were used for numerous burials and gradually turned into ossuaries. According to a preliminary assessment of the bio-archaeological material (E. Prevedorou), in grave 1 the bones belong to four individuals and in grave 2 to three. Among the bones of grave 2 were identified some belonging to child of about twelve, and some to a young adult.

The schematic marble figurine (BE7102) was found in grave 2 (Fig. 8.3) with two clay vases, an incised neck jar and a pyxis-like vase, and part of a bone palette.

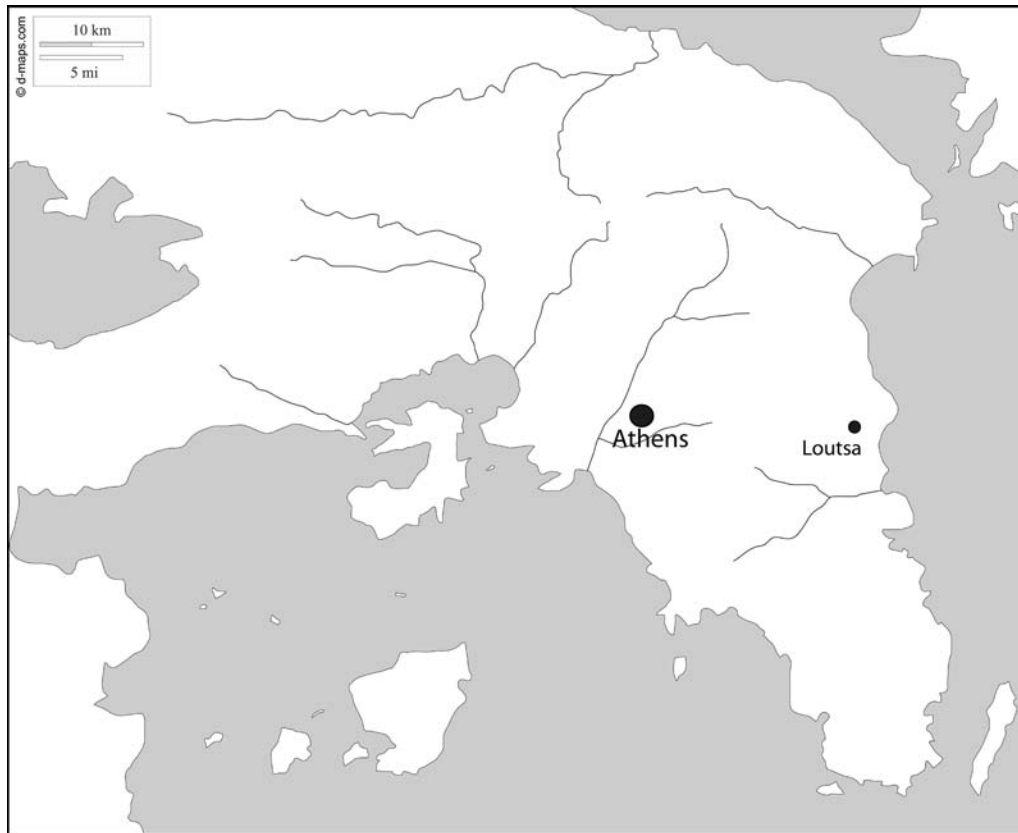


Figure 8.1 Location of site. Courtesy D-Maps.com.



Figure 8.2 The interior of grave 1.

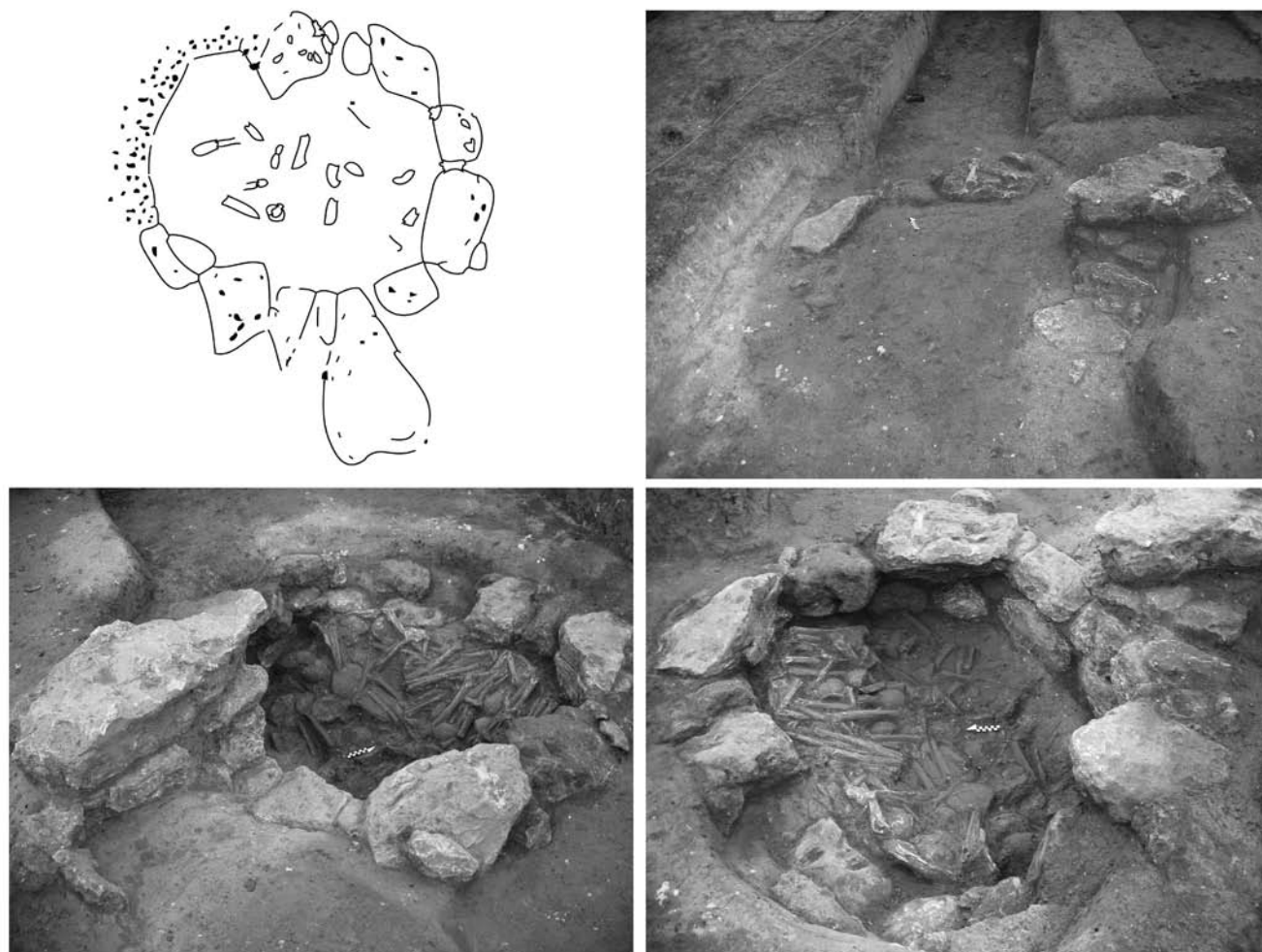


Figure 8.3 Grave 2. Top left: sketch; top right, top surface of Grave 2. Bottom: two views of the interior.



Figure 8.4 Left: BE7100, neck jar from grave 2. Right: BE7095, pyxis-like vase from grave 2.

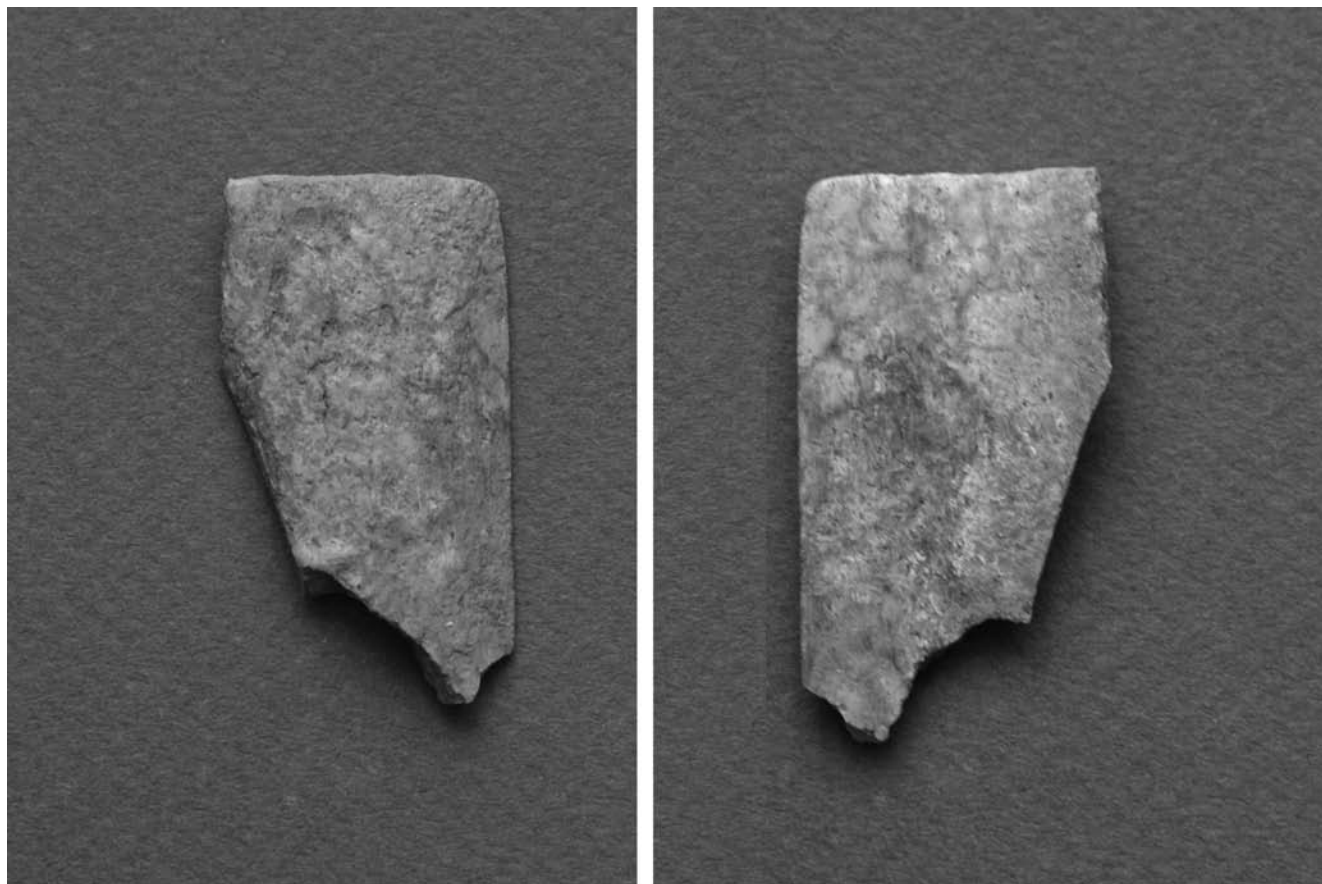


Figure 8.5 BE7101, part of bone palette from grave 2.

BE7100. Neck jar (Fig. 8.4 left).

Height 75 mm; rim diameter 50 mm; base diameter 30 mm

It has a long cylindrical neck with horizontal incision on its lower part. The body is conical with pairs of vertically perforated cylindrical lugs on the upper part. The flat base has a hollow spot in the centre. Red slip covers the outer surface of the vase. Incised decoration of counterbalancing oblique lines around the neck and on the one side of the body between the lugs.

BE7095. Pyxis-like vase (Fig. 8.4 right).

Height 84 mm; rim diameter 67 mm; base diameter 40 mm

Black slip covers the vase internally and externally. It has a short neck with out-flaring rim, a spherical, compressed body and a flat base with a hollow spot in the centre.

BE7101. Part of a bone palette (Fig. 8.5).

Maximum length 41 mm; maximum width 23 mm

Rectangular shape with slightly concave intersection and polished edges.

The vases and the palette can be compared typologically with those from Tsepi and are dated in the EH I period (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 300–18).

The schematic figurine

The schematic marble figurine (BE7102, Fig. 8.6) is a very special artefact in an excellent state of preservation (height 95 mm; maximum width at upper body 46 mm; maximum width at lower body 50 mm; maximum width at neck 22 mm). Apart from the lower part of its body on the back, which is rough, the rest of the body on both sides has smoothed surfaces. There is no indication of paint.

The figurine is completely flat and thin with a long rectangular ‘neck’. The concave sides of the almost trapezoidal body form two markedly angular projections in the upper section, indicating the arms. The neck to body ratio is almost 1:1. Its outline can be compared with the violin-shaped figurines.

Early Helladic schematic figurines of Cycladic type so far known in Attica come from the Tsepi cemetery at Marathon (Pantelidou Gofa this volume), the settlement and cemetery at Aghios Kosmas (Kostanti & Christopoulou this volume), the cemetery at Asteria Glyfada (Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006; this volume), the grave at Kopreza Markopoulo (Theocharis 1955, 286) and a recently excavated grave at Aegaleo (Asimakou this volume). No exact parallel for the Louts

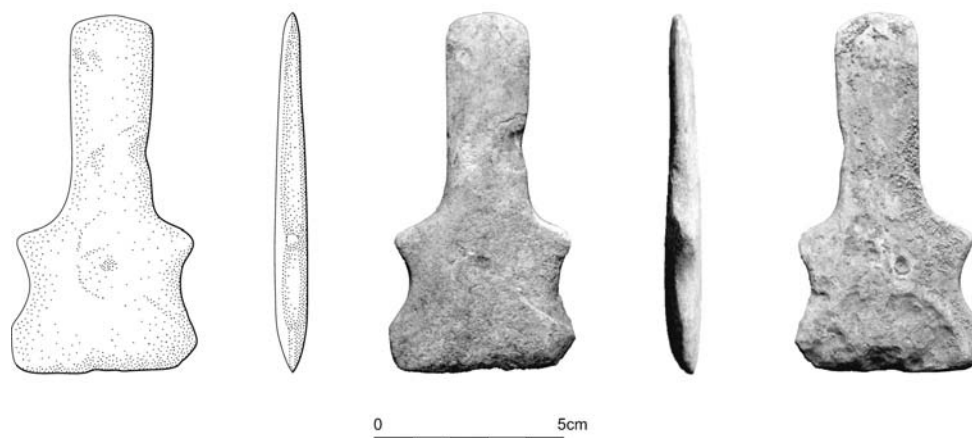


Figure 8.6 BE7102, the schematic figurine from grave 2. Scale 1:2.

figurine has been found at any of these sites. The closest parallels come from the Cyclades. The figurine BE7102 has common features with the general shape of schematic figurines from Paros. Some similarities concerning the outline of the body can be recognised in the EAM4818 (1) EC I violin-shaped figurine from Pyrgos grave 100 (Tsountas 1898, 159, pl. 11, 17; Rambach 2017, 68). However, the figurine from Loutsa differs from that from Pyrgos in the way that the neck and the lower part of the body are formed. The neck of the figurine presented here is tall and wide and resembles more the neck of the figurine EAM4818 (2) from Pyrgos grave 100. Furthermore, the lower part of its body is shorter compared to the corresponding part of EAM4818 (1).

The morphology of the figurine presented here does not contradict the chronology suggested on the basis of the ceramic context, that is the EH I period. Furthermore, it provides evidence concerning relations between Attica and the Cyclades.

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A SCHEMATIC FIGURINE FROM THE AREA OF KEPHISOS IN AEGALEO, ATHENS

Eleni Asimakou

Find location – excavation data

During recent rescue excavations that took place under the supervision of the Archaeological Service (the former 2nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities) in the area of the river Kephisos, within the district of Aegaleo, funerary remains were discovered, dating back to the Early Helladic Period. There are four graves, located in two places on either side of Kephisos, approximately 2 km apart (Fig. 9.1). One of the graves (Grave I) was found at the southern site, where a cemetery of Geometric to Roman times was excavated, and the other three (Graves II, III, IV) at the northern site, where classical burials and other remains of historic times were uncovered (Asimakou & Paschali forthcoming).

All graves are cut into the soft limestone bedrock (chalk). Graves I–III share common characteristics (Figs 9.2–9.5): they consist of a passage (dromos) leading downwards to a small rectangular door, which serves as an entrance to a kind of round chamber with slightly converging walls. They belong to the category of rock-cut chamber tombs. They have similar dimensions: Grave I, 3.2 m (east–west) × 1.4 m (north–south) × 1.5 m (depth); Grave II, 3.4 m (north–south) × 1.3 m (east–west) × 1.2 m (depth); Grave III, 3.9 m (north–south) × 2.0 m (east–west) × 1.2 m (depth).

Very similar to Graves I–III is the other one at the northern site (Grave IV), which is smaller and shallower:

2.1 m (east–west) × 1.0 m (north–south) × 0.50 m (depth). It has a rudimentary dromos and burial chamber, without a formal entrance between them. This had very little bone material preserved and no grave goods (the grave had only EH potsherds).

Grave II was the only one of the four graves to contain a pit inhumation, as well as bones gathered at its northern part. Graves I and III had only skeletal remains clustered in one part of the grave (to the northwest in Grave I and to the south in Grave III).

In Grave II, among the skeletal remains, which belonged to at least four people, a clay undecorated flat-based collared jar (kandila or amphoriskos: Archaeological Collection of Acharnes MM2516, Fig. 9.6) was found, dated EH I (for the name and dating of the shape see Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 300–03).

Grave III contained little bone material and a shallow marble bowl (Archaeological Collection of Acharnes MM2514; Fig. 9.5) with remnants of red pigment, accompanied by its pestle (Archaeological Collection of Acharnes MM2515).

Grave I maintained a small number of bones, along with the stone schematic figurine under consideration (Archaeological Museum of Brauron, BE7028; Figs 9.7–9.8), two marble bowls (Archaeological Museum of Brauron BE7026 and BE7027; Figs 9.7, 9.9, 9.10), one marble trough-shaped palette (Archaeological Museum of

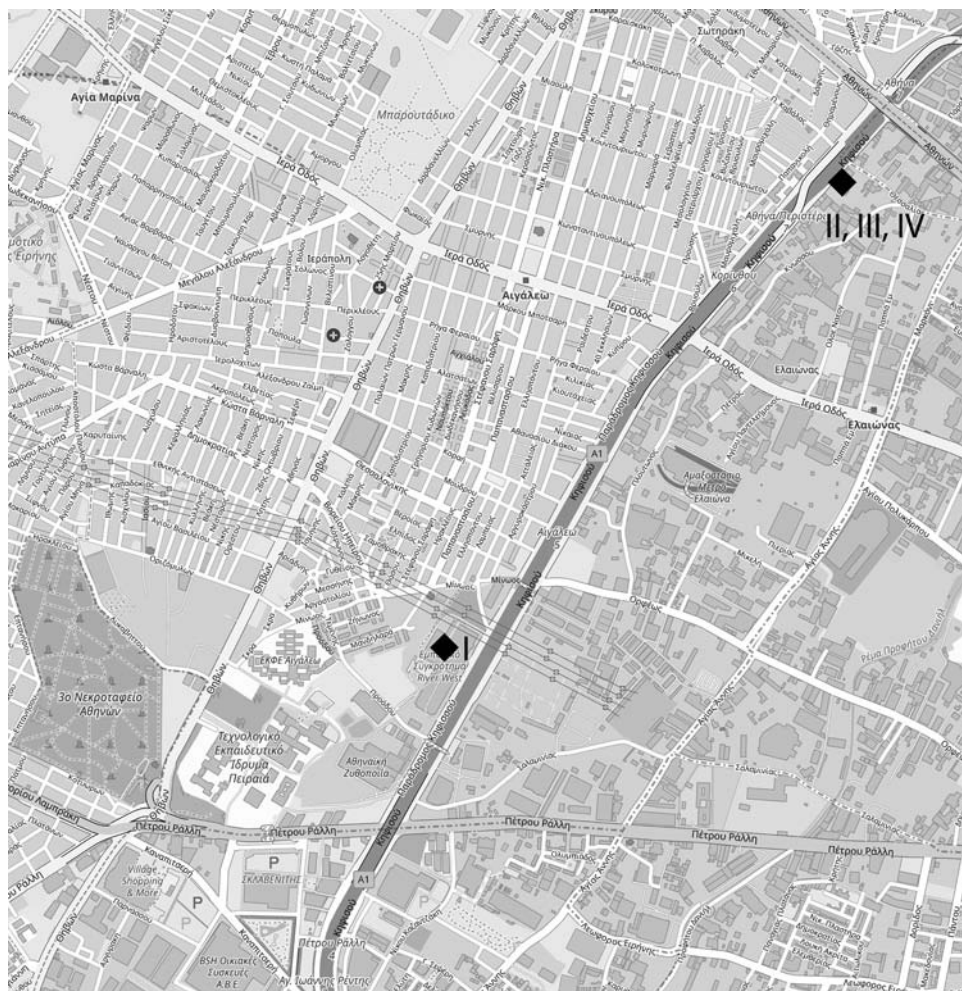


Figure 9.1 Map of Aegaleo in Athens, showing location of graves.



Figure 9.2 Grave I.



Figure 9.3 Grave II.

Brauron BE7029; Figs 9.7, 9.11), a pestle (Archaeological Museum of Brauron BE7030; Fig 9.7) and two obsidian blades (Archaeological Museum of Brauron BE7031 and BE7032; Figs 9.7, 9.12).

The smaller bowl of Grave I (BE7027; Fig. 9.9) is very shallow, irregularly roundish in shape, with thick, convex walls and without defined base (height 11 mm; maximum rim diameter 60 mm). It bears traces of red pigment. It is similar to a bowl found at Tsepi (D624; Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 201, cat. no. T. 33, 6, pl. 28.6), to some at Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959, 142, fig. 165) and to Cycladic bowls of Plastiras phase (EH I; Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 316).

The larger bowl of Grave I (BE7026; Fig. 9.10) is very similar to the one from Grave III. They are both shallow, with no formed base, convex walls, slightly rolled rims and traces of red pigment in their inner surface (height 19 mm; rim diameter 83 mm). They belong to types assigned to EC I-II or earlier (Mylonas 1959, 142, fig. 165; Getz-Gentle 1996, 100–01, pl. 51b; see also Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 219, cat. no. T. 36, 5, pl. 30.5, D625).

The palette (BE7029; Fig. 9.11) is very shallow, rectangular with rounded corners and slightly convex base (height 7.5 mm; length 94 mm; width 43 mm). This one finds its closest parallels in the Cycladic shallow, perforated palettes dated to EC I and EC I-II (Getz-Gentle 1996, 81–6, 264–7,



Figure 9.4 Grave III.

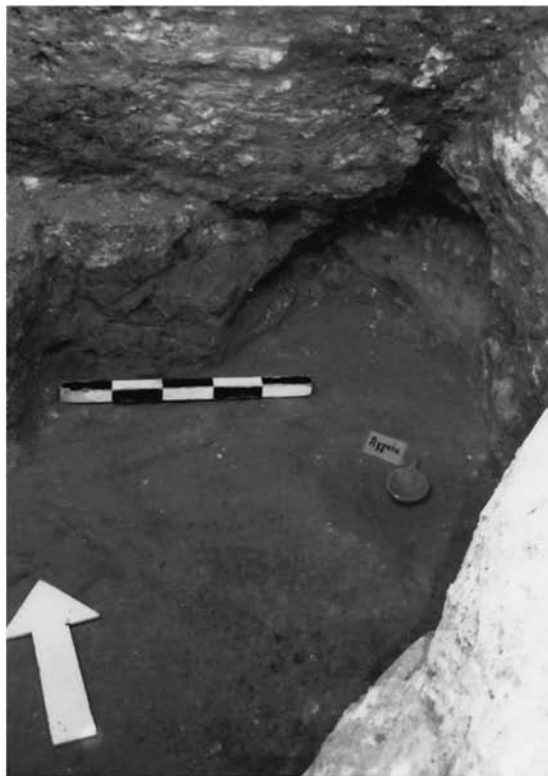


Figure 9.5 Grave II. Left: the northeast part of the burial chamber, where the marble bowl (MM2514) and the pestle (MM2515) were found. Right: marble bowl (MM2514) and pestle (MM2515). Not to scale.



Figure 9.6 Grave III. Flat based collared jar (MM2516).

especially cat. no. E24). A similar palette has also been found at Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959, 142, fig. 165, no. 38).

The schematic figurine BE7028 (Fig. 9.8)

The figurine from Grave I (Archaeological Museum of Brauron, BE7028) is made of limestone. It is complete,

except for some damage along the edges and an ancient triangular chip on one side that continues as slight damage to both flat surfaces. One surface is smoothed, bearing traces of red colour at the base of the neck. The other is rather roughly worked. Both surfaces are lightly incrustated, weathered in places and partially corroded. It has a height of 115 mm. The length from the top to the base of the neck is 62 mm. Its width across the shoulders is 52 mm; across the lower end 48 mm; at the top of the neck 11 mm; across the base of the neck 29 mm. Its average thickness is 4 mm.

It is a flat, schematic figurine. It has an approximately rectangular body with slightly convex edges, surmounted by a long neck which tapers only slightly toward the top. The shoulders, of uneven length, are sloping. On the back, at the base of the neck, where traces of red colour may be noted, there is a shallow groove that differentiates the neck from the body. At the bottom of the other flat surface there are two shallow, oblique grooves that meet at an angle and may indicate the pubic area. One groove ends at the triangular chip, which may have been caused during the carving of the soft limestone surface.

Therefore, our figurine appears to be female, naked and painted.



Figure 9.7 Grave I. The material found in the grave.



Figure 9.8 Schematic figurine BE7028 from Grave I. Scale 1:2.

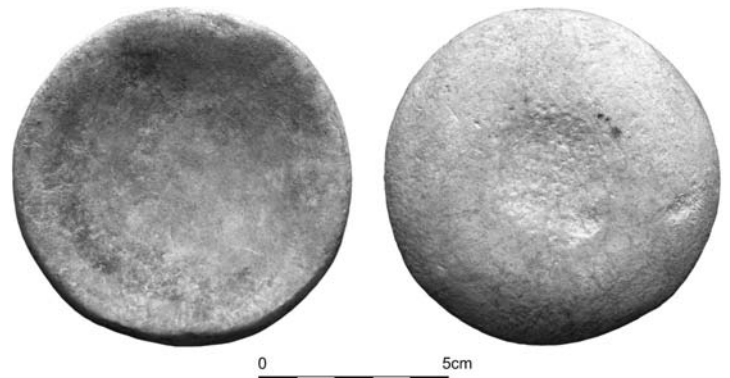


Figure 9.10 Grave I. Bowl with red pigment (BE7026). Scale 1:2.

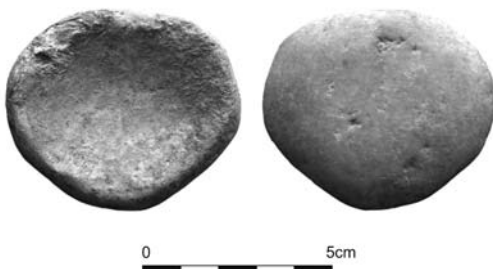


Figure 9.9 Grave I. Bowl with red pigment (BE7027). Scale 1:2.

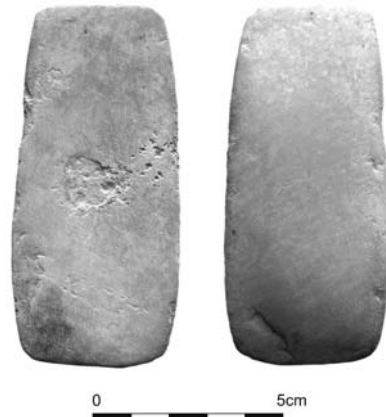


Figure 9.11 Grave I. Trough-shaped palette (BE7029). Scale 1:2.



Figure 9.12 Grave I. Obsidian blade (BE7031). Scale 1:2.

Similar figurines from the mainland (Attica) and their context

The figurine from Kephisos exhibits stylistic similarities with several figurines from Attica.

Three schematic figurines from Tsepi at Marathon: one from Grave 19, no. D453 (Pantelidou Gofa this volume, Fig. 6.1; 2005, 141, no. 19, 11 (D453), 323; Petrakos 1995, 125; Steinhauer 2009, 52, left), and two from Deposit A, no. D304 (Pantelidou Gofa this volume, Fig. 6.2; Petrakos 1995, 125–6, fig. 63; Steinhauer 2009, 52, middle), and no. D298 (Pantelidou Gofa this volume, Fig. 6.3; Petrakos 1995, 125; Steinhauer 2009, 52, right). These figurines consist of a quadrilateral body surmounted by a long neck and are classed as spade type (Pieler 2006, 98–9, 117–18, cat. nos D6–8, fig. 12, 6). There are some differences though between the figurine from Kephisos and those from Tsepi. The figurines D304 and D298 are larger than the one from Kephisos and the figurine from Grave 19 (D453), although similar in length and width to the figurine from Kephisos, is twice its thickness. All three figurines from Tsepi have a body that tapers toward the bottom, with concave edges in figurines D304 and D298. They also present differences in their neck: in D304 it is squarish and flat; in D453 it is cylindrical and oblong; in D298, although it tapers towards the top, it has a totally different proportional relationship with the body underneath it, in comparison to the figurine from Kephisos. The figurines from Tsepi also lack any surface detail.

Thimme mentions two more spade-shaped figurines which are said to have been found with two spherical pyxides (of the Keros-Syros culture) in a grave at Marathon, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 433–434, nos 53, 54, 585; see also Pieler 2006, 98–99, 117–8, cat. nos D9, 10, fig. 12, 7, 8. Sotirakopoulou classifies the two figurines as spatula type: 2005, 53). The first one (no. 1972.869) has a body that tapers toward the bottom in the same way as D298 from Deposit A of Tsepi, but it is surmounted by a long wide neck which does

not broaden at the base, and the shoulders form sharper edges. The second (no. 1972.868) has a rectangular body with concave edges and a long neck which slightly tapers toward the top. Thimme dates them to EH II, on the basis of their supposed correlation with the two pyxides mentioned above (Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 433–4, nos 53, 54, 585). Getz-Preziosi disputes this late chronology as it is not clear that the figurines were found along with the pyxides (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 136, cat. no. 9).

It should be noted that among the Marathon figurines with certain provenance, D453 was found in a grave (number 19) which, in its basic characteristics (a dromos that leads through a door down to a burial chamber containing the skeletal remains of more than one individual), resembles the Kephisos graves. The pottery found in the same stratum with figurine D453, a miniature amphora and a spherical pyxis, is dated by the excavator to the EH I period (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 136, 140, no. 19, 3 (K828) and no. 19, 5 (K830), 300–03, 306–08), but the grave contained also pottery from the EH II period (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 136, 140, no. 19, 4 (K829), 303–05).

Two figurines from the Early Helladic Cemetery excavated in the area of Asteria in Glyphada have been also classified as of the spade or spatula type. The first was found in an open deposit of funerary offerings, in the vicinity of two graves (one of which was rock-cut, like those from Kephisos), together with another schematic figurine and a large amount of pottery which the excavator dates to EH I (Kaza-Papageorgiou this volume, Fig. 12.12; 2006, 56–8; 2014, 11–13, fig. 2). This figurine has a neck which is very similar to that of the figurine from Kephisos, but its body tapers toward the bottom, it has convex edges and horizontal shoulders, and there are no surface details.

The second figurine from Asteria, found in a rectangular pit cut into the bedrock and partially lined with stone slabs (deposit or grave), has a neck that broadens toward the top but its body is more similar to the one from Kephisos (Kaza-Papageorgiou this volume, Fig. 12.6; forthcoming).

A figurine from the site Kovatsi, 1 km southeast of Markopoulo (Theocharis 1955, 286, 292, fig. C, 1; Archaeological Museum of Brauron, PR36) is identified as of spade type (Pieler 2006, 98–9, 117–18, cat. no. D11, fig. 12, 9) or of spatula type (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 53). Its body tapers towards the bottom. In comparison to the Kephisos figurine it has a wider neck which broadens more at the base where it curves into very narrow shoulders. No surface details are indicated. It was found in a grave with a built entrance and a small rectangular burial chamber with bone material from at least two people.

The figurines mentioned above from Attica, although they share with the Kephisos figurine the basic characteristics of the spade type, exhibit individual differences, with the body tapering toward the bottom predominant among them.

Amongst the schematic figurines from Attica, the Kephisos figurine shares approximately the same body shape with figurine No. 9 from the North Cemetery of Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959, 100–01, pl. 163.9), which has been assigned to the Apeiranthos type (EC II) because of the indication of a head at the top end of its neck (Renfrew 1969, 14–15; Sotirakopoulou 1998, 120, n. 91). Thimme suggests dating the Apeiranthos type figurines individually to EC I–II, EC II or EC II–III, as the case may be (Thimme 1977, 434–5, nos 57–62). Pieler considers figurine No. 9 from Aghios Kosmas as spade-shaped (Pieler 2006, 98–9, 117–18, cat. no D2, fig. 12.2).

Another significant deference between the Kephisos figurine and the other spade-shaped figurines from Attica is that they lack any surface treatment (incised or painted) for the rendering of anatomical details.

Similar figurines from the Cyclades and their context

Among the known schematic figurines from Cyclades, the closest parallel to the Kephisos figurine, as far as the stylistic characteristics are concerned, is one (EAM 4821.4) of the two marble spade-shaped figurines from cist grave 103 of the Pyrgos cemetery on Paros (Tsountas 1898, 159, pl. 11, 7; Rambach 2000b, 35, pl. 13, 17; 164, 2; 2017, 68–9, fig. 7.2.5). The other spade-shaped figurine from grave 103 is EAM4821.5 (Tsountas 1898, 159, pl. 11, 13; Rambach 2000b, 35, pls 13. 16, 164.4; 2017, 68–9, fig. 7.2.4). These two figurines were found together with twelve marble fiddle-shaped figurines and a clay collared jar of EC I (Tsountas 1898, 160, pl. 9.28; Rambach 2000b, 35, pls 13.20, 102.5). Doulas incorporates the two spade-shaped figurines from Pyrgos grave 103 in the Syros group (Doulas 1977, 20–2, fig. 8.q,r).

It should be stressed that the Kephisos figurine and that from the Pyrgos grave (EAM4821.4) share one additional characteristic beyond shape. They both have grooved anatomical details, although not in the same place. On the Paros figurine grooves differentiate the body from the neck on the front surface. As already noted, none of the spade-shaped figurines from Attica mentioned above has such grooves. A significant difference between the two figurines is that the figurine from Aegaleo is approximately three times bigger than the one from Paros.

The second spade-shaped figurine from Pyrgos grave 103 (EAM4821.5), which is of the same size as the first one (EAM4821.4), has a semi-circular body shape and an oblong neck, differentiating it from the Kephisos figurine. According to Sotirakopoulou's classification, it belongs to the spatula type (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 53).

In addition, the body shape of the Kephisos figurine is significantly different from that of the marble bottle-shaped figurine of EC I from cist grave 137 in the cemetery of Zoumbaria on Dhespotiko (EAM4885.2; Tsountas 1898, 165, pl. 11.3; Rambach 2000b, 58, pls 22.50, 166.5; 2017, 74–5, fig. 7.5). It is also different from the trapezoidal body shape of the figurine from Cenotaph Square at Akrotiri on Thera (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 117, no. 1885).

According to the size and the body shape, it is very similar to some figurines from the Cyclades of the Apeiranthos type (*e.g.* EAM5211 from grave 468 of the cemetery at Chalandriani on Syros: Tsountas 1899, 114, fig. 29; Rambach 2000b, 138, pls 65.7, 166.14; Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou (eds) 2011, 363–4, no. 45; Marthari 2017, 301–2, fig. 20.8), dated to EC II.

Similar figurines with unknown provenance

Very similar to the Kephisos figurine are also two spade-shaped figurines with unknown provenance: one in Basle, in the Erlenmeyer Collection (Thimme dates it to EC II–III, on the grounds of its somewhat slack outline: Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 434, no. 55); and the other in the Museum of Cycladic Art, GM333 (Doulas dates it to EC I: Doulas 2000, 65, no. 9). Both lack surface details.

Conclusions

Based on the above we can conclude that the Kephisos figurine finds its closest parallel to an EC I spade-shaped figurine from Cyclades. Its stylistic counterparts from dated contexts in Attica belong to EH I (Asteria) and EH I–II (Tsepi). In addition, the other funerary objects found in the same grave as the Kephisos figurine are dated to EH I or EH I–II. Thus dating the figurine to EH I or to EH I–II seems most appropriate.

The material of the figurine, limestone, perhaps betrays that it is a product of a local workshop. It is more difficult to decide about the origin of the marble offerings found with the figurine. It may be that future chemical analysis of their marble will enlighten us.

The context of the Kephisos graves, including the figurine under consideration, dates them to EH I and EH I–II. So it seems that in Attica in this period there were graves with basic characteristics (dromos, house-like door, and burial chamber) which appeared in Cyclades later on, at Chalandriani on Syros (in EC II, with built tombs), and at Phylakopi and other sites on Melos (in EC II–III, with rock-cut chamber tombs), perhaps under the influence of Attica (Asimakou & Paschali forthcoming).



Figure 9.13 Map of Attica with the findspots of selected schematic figurines. Courtesy D-Maps.com.

It is worth noting that among the schematic, spade-shaped figurines mentioned above, with known provenance, almost all the figurines from Cyclades (a special case is the figurine from Akrotiri on Thera) and those from Attica were found in funerary contexts. Those from the Cyclades come from simple cist graves, usually containing more than one figurine. In the Attic cases (Fig. 9.13), when the spade-shaped figurines come with certainty from graves (Tsepi, Markopoulo, Aegaleo), these are distinguished by the particular structural form previously mentioned: a dromos that leads through a door to a burial chamber. They all contain the skeletal remains of more than one burial and a number of funerary objects, although only a single figurine. In the light of the limited data, it is very difficult to decide whether these features, which probably correlate with the dating and use of the

graves, are in a special way connected with the schematic figurines of the Attic graves (regarding the numerous theories about the meaning of Cycladic figurines, see Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 82–4, 96).

It should be noted, however, that the other rock-cut graves at Kephisos, and a similar one of EH I–II at Nea Makri (Theocharaki 1980, 82–4) didn't contain any figurines.

In any case, the existence in the Attic and Cycladic graves of similar grave goods (the figurine and the bowls) shows that the two areas (Attica and the Cyclades) shared similar burial customs in EB I–II. What more the naked, painted female figurine in Grave I of Kephisos means, we are not really able to say.

The graves at Aegaleo, as well as their finds, provide more evidence concerning the relations between Attica and the Cyclades. They reinforce what we already know from

Tsepi, Nea Makri and Aghios Kosmas about the contacts and cultural exchanges between the two areas in EH I and EH I–II. They exhibit a broader field for these exchanges as far as inland western Attica, where the Kephisos river probably played its own decisive role.

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A FIGURINE FROM A TOMB AT MANDRA IN WESTERN ATTICA

Kalliopi Papangeli

This marble figurine (inv. no. 5374) has been in the Archaeological Museum of Eleusis since the end of the 19th century. Blinkenberg (1897) mentions that he was informed by Christos Tsountas and the first systematic excavator of Eleusis, Demetrios Filios, that the figurine was discovered in a tomb at Mandra, a village located at a distance of four kilometres northwest of Eleusis. In this statement it is not clear whether or not the excavation was carried out by Filios (Blinkenberg 1897, 68).

This piece of information obviously escaped the attention of G. Mylonas who forty years later, when publishing the entire known prehistoric material from Eleusis in a collective article in 1932, presented the figurine as of unknown provenance (Mylonas 1932, 140).

The figurine is of medium size (preserved height 245 mm) and, despite the extensive erosion and abrasions it has suffered, can be easily classified as a figurine of the Cycladic type. It depicts a frontally standing female figure with arms folded across the chest at the level of the waist, adhering to the so-called canonical posture, with the right arm below the left. The horizontally placed forearms are distinguished from one another through an incision, while no incisions are observed for the articulation of the fingers, something which may be due to the extensive surface corrosion.

The head of the figurine tilts up and backward and the surface of the face is considerably damaged, but the vertical

nasal ridge is clearly visible. The surviving outline of the head is roughly oval. The relatively long neck creates a continuous curvilinear contour with the sloping shoulders that widens at the level of the chest and the integrated arms, which is also the widest point of the figurine, measuring 118 mm. The vertical arms have a curving, convex exterior outline and are much thinner than the main torso. The surface of the chest has been abraded in antiquity but the upper part of the low projection of the left breast is distinguished.

Under the horizontally folded forearms, the outline of the figurine narrows downwards without apparent delineation of the waist. It is not clear whether the barely distinguishable slanted grooves located in the surface below the abdomen have resulted from erosion or are traces of incisions denoting the pubic triangle. If the latter is true, the pubic triangle began almost immediately below the folded arms and extended very low, a characteristic observed in the Chalandriani variety of figurines.

It seems likely that the lower part of the legs of the figurine was cut off in antiquity. The surface of the break is relatively even so that it creates the impression of intentional smoothing or flattening.

The back surface of the figurine is very simple, with neither the presence of incision to indicate the spine nor modelling of the buttocks. The transition from the neck to the skull is achieved through regular, curvilinear surfaces.

In profile view the figurine is flat with some tilting of the head to the back. Due to the extensive breaks on the surface of the face, it is impossible to estimate the original thickness and shape of the head, the thin surviving portion of which is supported by a very strong and curvilinear neck. The torso is 30 mm thick while at the arms the piece becomes gradually more slender, the elbows comprising the thinnest part of the sculpture, ending in an almost sharp point.

Although the characteristics of the figurine easily classify it to the wider group of folded arm figurines of the EC II period (Renfrew 1969, 9–24), its attribution to one of the distinguishable varieties is difficult.

It differs from the Chalandriani variety of figurines because of the curving and slanting shoulders and the outline of the face, which in its current state of preservation is oval.

This differentiation of its particular characteristics, as well as the place of its discovery, rightly give rise to

questions regarding the provenance of the figurine as well as its owner. Was the place of its manufacture in the Cyclades or is the figurine an imitation of the type made in Attica?

Unfortunately the vague excavation documentation combined with the lack of petrographic analysis of the marble make it impossible to resolve these issues at present. The surface of the figurine is covered with reddish-brown deposits, resulting most probably from the soil of the area which is rich in iron oxides. Only at points of more recent damage, that is at the lower left end of the figurine and at the thin point of the right arm, is it possible to examine the original texture of the stone. Based on macroscopic analysis it appears that it is a relatively fine-grained white marble with blue-grey veins, but it is not possible to attribute it to an island or Attic quarry.

In earlier times, the absence of documented habitation in the wider area of Eleusis and Mandra during this period made the presence of this find even more enigmatic.

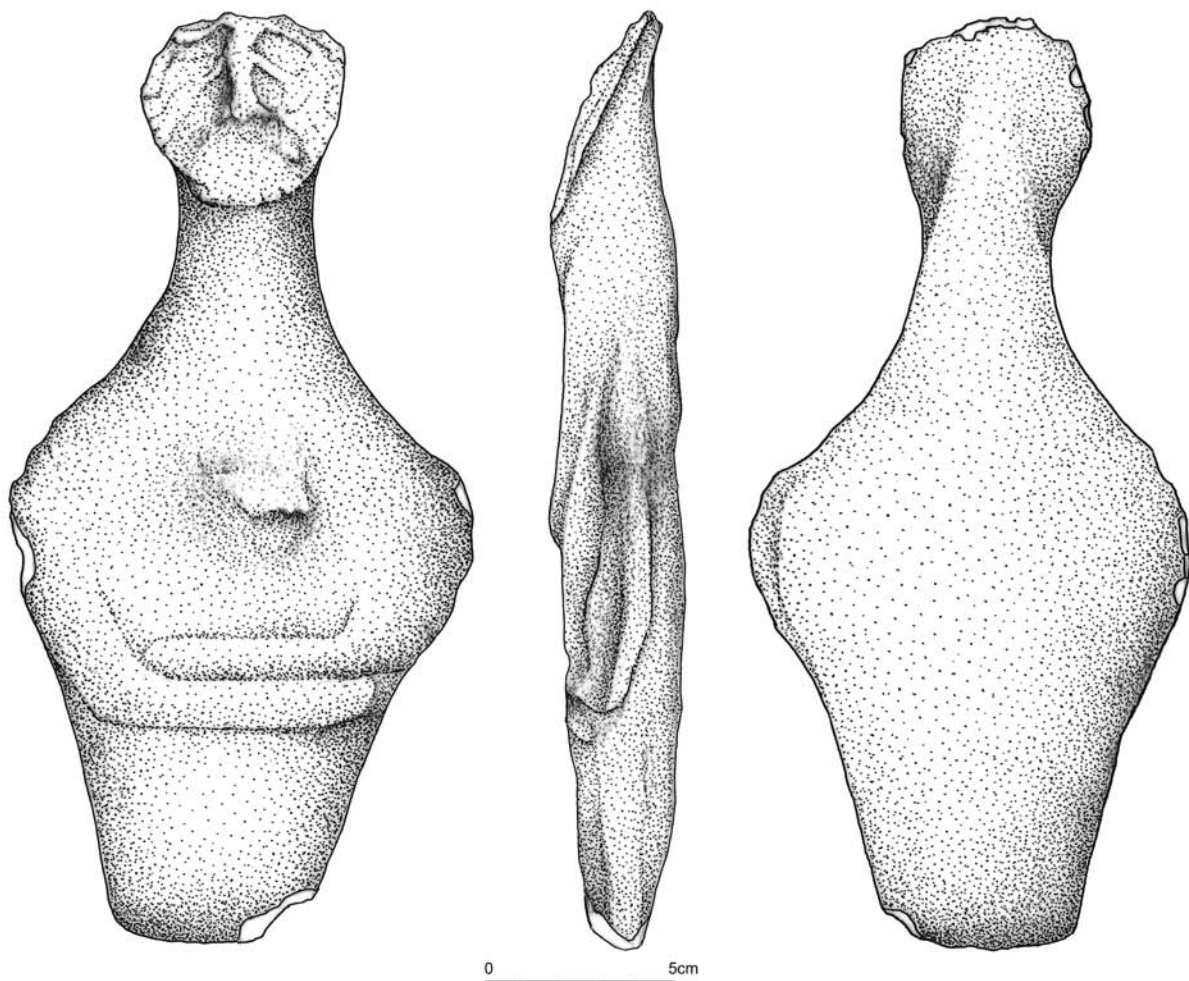


Figure 10.1. Figurine from Mandra near Eleusis. Scale 1:2.

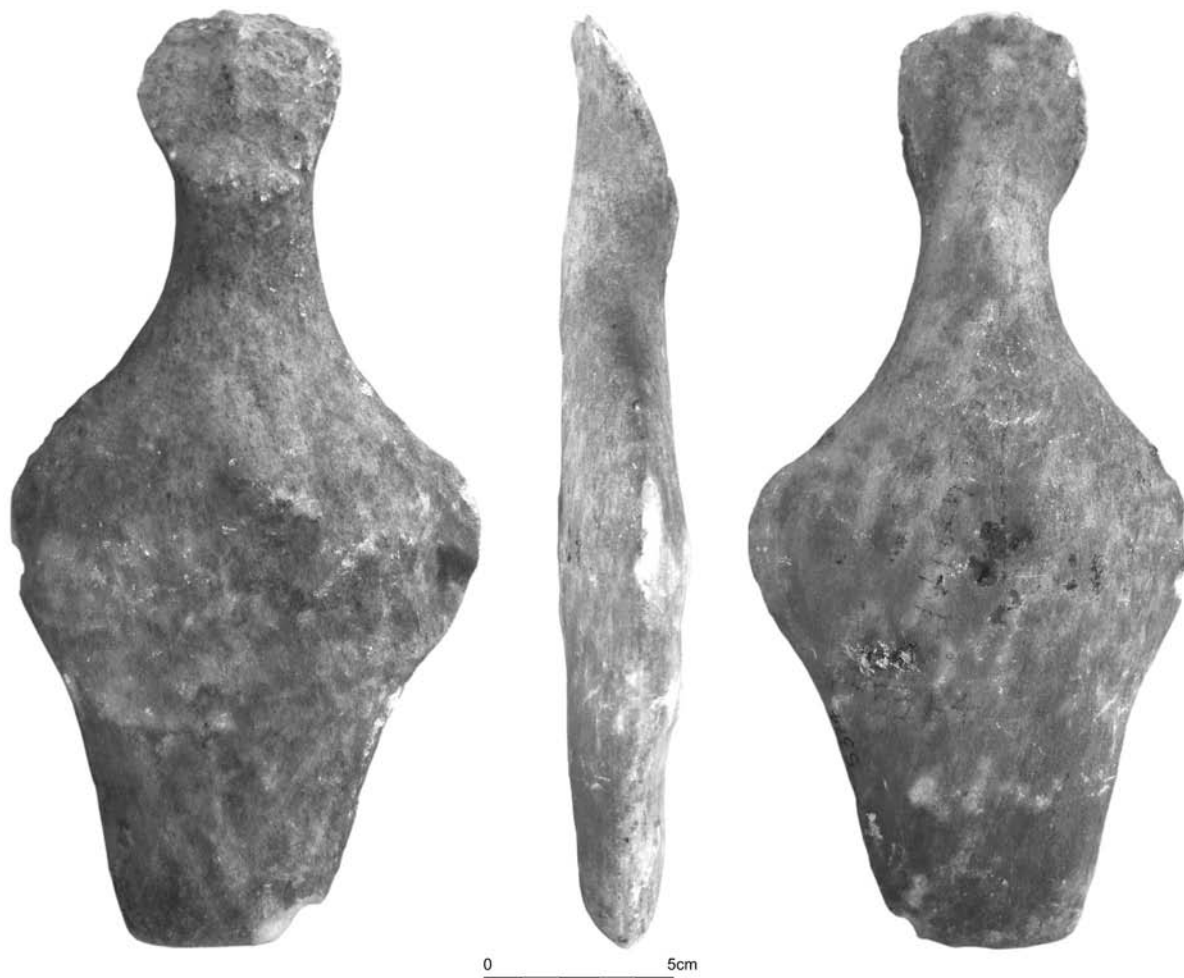


Figure 10.1 (Continued)

However, more recent salvage excavations have identified a Neolithic and Early Helladic settlement at a distance of 1500 m from the archaeological site of Eleusis, at the midpoint between Eleusis and Mandra. The presence of obsidian flakes, as well as lumps of white clay (kaolin) from Melos, provide evidence of exchange and interaction between this area and the Cycladic islands (Papangeli 1990, 57).

We hope that future investigation in the wider area of Eleusis and Mandra, as well as laboratory analysis of the marble of the figurine, will clarify some of the issues that this early find poses.

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A FRAGMENTARY CYCLADIC FIGURINE FROM NEA KEPHISIA, ATTICA

Theodora Georgousopoulou

Introduction

In 2002, salvage excavations conducted by the 2nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities during the works for the construction of Kymis Avenue in Nea Kephisia, Attica (Fig. 11.1), which links the National Road to the Olympic village, led to the recovery of a partially preserved marble folded-arm figurine. Its findspot was situated east of Thevaïdos Street, on the border of the modern municipalities of Kephisia and Acharnes, and consisted of a building complex that proved to be a sanctuary of Dionysos and Aphrodite, used continuously from the end of the 6th century BC to Roman times.

In the course of the excavation, 200 m to the west of the sanctuary, on top of a hill overlooking the river Kephisos, two adjoining pits were unearthed (Fig. 11.2), containing great numbers of pottery sherds, as well as complete vessels (Georgousopoulou in press). The pits date to the Early Helladic II period, a timespan which allows for the circulation and deposition of the Cycladic figurine in the area.

The figurine

Part of the lower body of a folded-arm figurine of Kapsala or Spedos variety, MMe234 (Fig. 11.3).

Exhibited in the Archaeological Collection of Acharnes (showcase 1, no. 19).

EC II. Nea Kephisia, Attica. Found in the area of the sanctuary of Dionysos and Aphrodite in a classical layer.

White marble, pinkish-brown thin patina.

Preserved from the pelvis to the beginning of the knees. Height 56 mm. Maximum width (pelvis) 32 mm. Minimum width (above the knees) 16 mm.

The breaks occurred in antiquity, for they present the same thin patina as the rest of the figurine. In very good condition, with few minute chips. Only the side of the right thigh is a little more encrusted, and presents a larger chip. The surface is smooth, especially on the back.

The torso has been fragmented obliquely below the folded arms, preserving the pubic triangle on the front, and the whole of the buttocks on the back. The lower fragmentation has occurred just above the knees, which are therefore missing. The pubic triangle is denoted not only by incision, but also plastically. The same applies to the front of the thighs, which show volume. The leg-cleft begins at the apex of the pubic triangle, becoming broader and deeper towards the knees. The buttocks are only slightly rounded and are defined at the top and the bottom by the end of the very shallow dorsal incision and by the beginning of the rear leg-cleft respectively. The leg-cleft progressively broadens and deepens towards the knees, showing that they might have been fully separated, if preserved.

The plasticity and roundness displayed on the figurine viewed from the front are not present when seen from the back, and, similarly, its profile is a little flat. In terms of the plasticity with



Figure 11.1 Map of Attica.



Figure 11.2 Satellite picture of the area east and west of Thevaídos Street, Nea Kephisia.

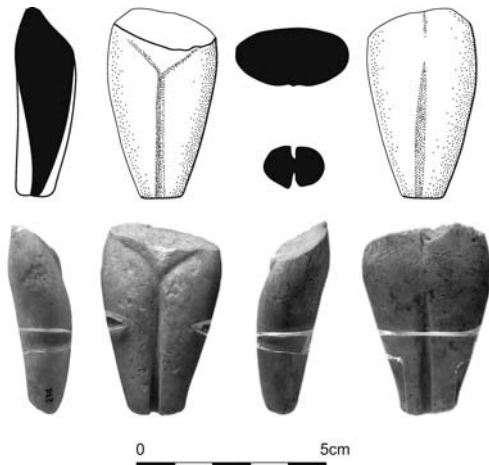


Figure 11.3 MMe234. Folded-arm figurine fragment of Kapsala or Spedos variety.

which its forms are rendered and the minimal use of incision, the figurine appears to belong to the early folded-arm figurine variety of Kapsala (Renfrew 1969, pl. 3d, e). However, the flatness of the rear view and the profile relate it to examples of the Spedos variety. Given the fact that only a small part of the whole figure is preserved, and crucial information about its form is lost to us, we are not able to allocate it more precisely to one or other variety. Similar issues have arisen even concerning complete examples (*e.g.* Getz-Pretziosi 1977, 73, fig. 49; Renfrew 1991, 79, pl. 53; Sotirakopoulou 1998, no. 195), and it has been argued that these two typologically consecutive categories have many elements in common, thus being hard to distinguish (Getz-Pretziosi 1987, 75; Renfrew 1991, 78).

Context

The figurine was discovered in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Dionysos and Aphrodite, which consisted of two small square spaces, one next to the other on a north to south axis, contained within an enclosure wall with a monumental entrance. A street running east to west led to the sanctuary entrance and continued its course alongside the enclosure wall (Fig. 11.4). The main period of use for the sanctuary was the 4th century BC, as can be deduced by the finds from within the two square spaces, the larger of which was dedicated to Dionysos; the whole site appeared to have been used continuously from the end of the 6th century BC to Roman times, undergoing consecutive building activity (Platonos-Giota 2004, 433–6).

During the Roman period, the space north of the temples was taken up by a pottery workshop and interventions were made to the entrance and the street. In fact, the surviving westward extension of the street constituted a Roman reworking of its Classical counterpart. This could be discerned just short of the southward curve of the street,

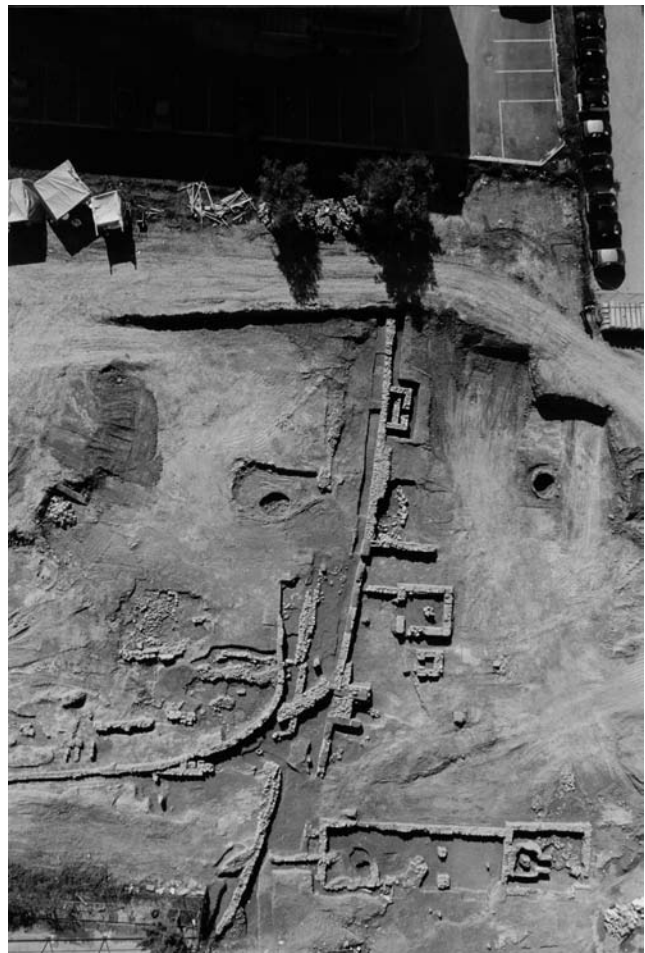


Figure 11.4 Aerial photograph of the site of the sanctuary of Dionysos and Aphrodite, Nea Kephisia, from the south.

where a small Π -shaped space emerged adjacent to but in a lower level than the street. Within this space there stood a square pedestal filled with lead, probably intended for the placement of a funerary stele (Fig. 11.5). Based on its position and the pottery from its fill, this structure was attributed to the Classical phase of the street. The exact findspot of the Cycladic figurine was the junction of the Roman street with the Classical wall of the Π -shaped structure, in the layer situated just above the latter (Fig. 11.6).

Taking its context into consideration, it becomes evident that the Cycladic figurine from Nea Kephisia constitutes an object that has been displaced in time, as Evangelia Pappi has very aptly pointed out in the present volume (Chapter 16) referring to the Cycladic figurine from a Late Protogeometric burial in Argos. The many issues stemming from the nature of the findspot of the figurine from Nea Kephisia, for example whether it was accidentally encountered by later inhabitants in disturbed EBA deposits, or whether it had been deliberately deposited outside the sanctuary as the dedication of a value-laden relic, will have



Figure 11.5 Sanctuary of Dionysos and Aphrodite, Nea Kephisia. The Π-shaped space with the pedestal, from the east.

to be the subject of a different discussion, since unlike the figurine from Argos noted above, whose site lacked evidence of any activity of EH II date, the figurine from Nea Kephisia does not appear to be displaced in space. The two EH II pits that were excavated near the sanctuary bear evidence for the intentional deposition of a large quantity of fragmented and whole vessels. The nature of the finds and the character of the activities that seem to have taken place at the top of the hill lead us to propose that the original context of the Cycladic figurine would have been associated with one of these pits.

The context of the EH II pits

Pit 1 lay at the top of the hill, right next to its precipitous northern edge, overlooking the river Kephisos, whereas the neighbouring Pit 2 was situated on the hill's partially levelled eastern side. Due to the large amount of pottery recovered from the interior of the pits, their study has not been concluded. As the examination of the material from Pit 2 is still at an early stage, we will concentrate mainly on Pit 1, which constitutes the context in which the majority of the complete vessels were encountered.

Pit 1 had a fairly circular shape (2.5 m × 1.5 m) and a depth of 1.28 m. Throughout its fill sherds and whole vessels succeeded each other in a dense sequence. Stratigraphic differentiations could not be discerned, except for the

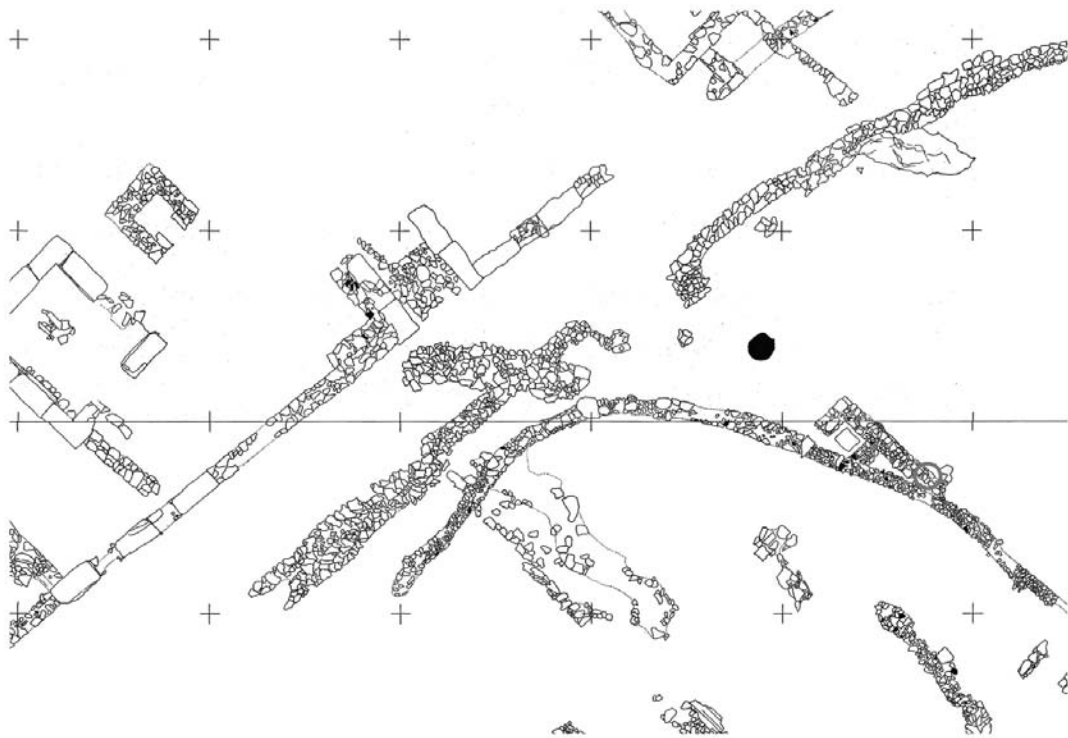


Figure 11.6 Sanctuary of Dionysos and Aphrodite, Nea Kephisia. Plan of the site with the findspot of MMe234 (drawing by K. Deli).

lower level of the pit which demonstrated traces of fire. Consequently, layers were assigned only in order to facilitate the excavation process. Indicative of the density of the deposit is the recovery of approximately 2000 sherds from the top layer (L1) of 0.20 m. Among them were fragments of large plain open vessels of coarse fabric with T-shaped or incurving rims, plastic decoration, flat or low ring bases and ledge or strap handles. Sauceboats of fine fabric and of various wares (plain, with red to brown slip, Urfirnis or yellow mottled) were well represented. The majority of sherds, however, belonged to medium-coarse wares, comprising either baking pans or medium-sized bowls with ring bases and incurving rims with red to brown thick lustrous slip.

Under the top layer of fragmented pottery, and still among thousands of sherds closely packed together representing all the above mentioned wares, fabrics and shapes, 14 whole vessels were uncovered. They were arranged in groups and were dispersed in all but the top and bottom layers of the pit. They could be found separately or, conversely, close together or even overlapping. They were exclusively closed shapes, and consisted of one-handled cups, one- and two-handled tankards, and a small pyxis. The one-handled cup was the most frequently encountered shape with nine examples, while the two types of tankards were equally represented by two examples each. We have to point out, though, that no two vessels of the same shape were identical: in fact they all demonstrated differences in type to a greater or lesser extent. The one-handled cup, besides being the predominant shape, was present in all groups except one, with at least one and at most four examples. These groups also included, besides the closed vessels, numerous coarse basins with flat bases (Fig. 11.7), as well as medium-sized bowls with ring bases and incurving rims (Fig. 11.8), both characteristically cut lengthwise in half, usually conserving their bases. The pots were found on their sides or upside down, whereas the halves of bowls and basins were deposited densely and one inside the other with their inner surface facing upwards (Fig. 11.9). An integral part in the groups was played by obsidian blades found around, below, or even inside the vessels, as in the case of a one-handled tankard (MMe268), and two halves of basins.

The most unusual characteristic encountered in Pit 1, though, was the occurrence of an irregularly shaped hole made after firing on the body of some of the whole pots. This was observed on both of the one-handled tankards (Fig. 11.10) and one of the two-handled tankards (Fig. 11.11), where the hole was placed on the lower body between the base and the maximum diameter. Two of the one-handled cups displayed a similar hole on their base (Fig. 11.12), while on the interior of the base of a third (MMe264) the beginning of a hole was visible (Georgousopoulou in press). These holes were carefully made, and cannot be attributed to accident or use wear. The deliberately perforated vessels



Figure 11.7 MMe371. Basin of coarse fabric from Pit 1.



Figure 11.8 MMe259. Bowl with ring base from Pit 1.



Figure 11.9 Pit 1. The single-handled tankards MMe267, MMe268, and halved bowls, from the east.

were found in all the layers, except for the top and bottom ones, and were more numerous in layers 2 and 3 (two examples in each).



Figure 11.10 MMe267. Single-handled tankard with hole on lower body, from Pit 1.



Figure 11.11 MMe265. Two-handled tankard with hole on lower body, from Pit 1.

In fact, in these two layers we encountered the greatest number of groups, which in turn exhibited the largest numbers of vessels. Conversely, layer 4 contained only a one-handled cup, without any other whole closed vessels or halved open ones. From the circular small area with traces of fire, situated in the centre of the pit in this layer, part of an Urfirnis sauceboat was recovered (MMe386; Fig. 11.13). In the bottom layer (L5) of Pit 1 no vessels appeared, and sherds were considerably fewer. An opposing picture emerges when we consider the occurrence of animal bones, whose number was small in comparison to the amount of pottery fragments or even of obsidian blades present in the pit. They were more numerous in the bottom

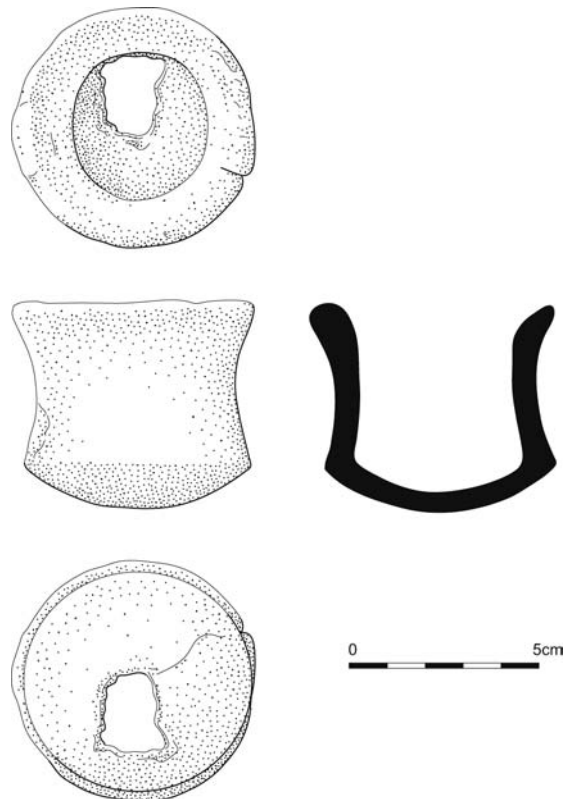


Figure 11.12 MMe1036. One-handled cup with hole on base, from Pit 1 (drawing by K. Deli).



Figure 11.13 MMe386. Part of Urfirnis sauceboat from Pit 1.



Figure 11.14 Pit 1. Animal mandible and bone.

layers of the pit (L4 and 5), whereas the top layers (L1 and 2) contained no trace of them. In layer 3 we encountered three mandibles (Fig. 11.14), two of which were actually placed in a complementary position (Georgousopoulou in press).

The much larger Pit 2, which was irregularly shaped (9 m × 5 m) with a depth of 1.24 m, while retaining the basic features of deposition evident in Pit 1, presented a somewhat different picture. Firstly, in addition to a great quantity of sherds, it contained medium-sized stones, appearing for the first time in the context of the pits. Additionally, only a single whole pot was found, a single-handled cup, with a hole on its lower body made after firing, along with large parts of two more; halved bowls and basins were absent, as in the lower layers of Pit 1. Most sherds, according to a preliminary examination, belonged to large vessels of coarse fabric, although sauceboats of fine fabric were also identified. Baking pans still constituted a large part of the assemblage, but this time we also encountered the type with holes under the rim (Wiencke 2000, 535). Holes under the rim also made their appearance in sherds of very different, coarser fabric, possibly belonging to cheese pots (Fig. 11.15).

Two further classes of pottery were encountered in Pit 2 for the first time: stands and hearths. Fragments of four-legged stands, representative exclusively of the saddle-type (Pullen 1995, 37–8, fig. 35–6, 122–3; Pullen 2011a, 192–6, 373–4, fig. 4.48), with a rope impression on the upper surface of the narrowest part of the body, were numerous (Fig. 11.16), whereas the most characteristic examples of hearths amounted to fragments of four rims



Figure 11.15 MMe375. Fragments of cheese pots from Pit 2.



Figure 11.16 MMe246. Part of a stand of the saddle-type from Pit 2.



Figure 11.17 MMe238, MMe235, MMe239. Decorated hearth-rim fragments from Pit 2.

decorated with impressed *kerbschnitt* decoration. Three of them probably belonged to circular hearths (MMe237, MMe238, MMe239), while MMe235 came from a keyhole-shaped hearth and bore the design of a star (Fig. 11.17).

Pattern of deposition and activities in the Nea Kephisia pits

As far as Pit 1 is concerned, especially regarding its top layers, a twofold pattern of deposition can be discerned. While some objects appear to have been carelessly *thrown* in the pit (fragments of pottery), others give the impression of having been carefully *placed* on the ground (whole pots, obsidian blades within pots, halves of basins and bowls, animal mandibles). This antithesis is further accentuated by the state of recovery of the finds, *i.e.* broken as compared to *whole*, giving the impression that the broken parts were randomly deposited within the pit, being treated more or less like domestic refuse. However, this assumption is refuted when we consider the limited range of shapes represented among the sherds recovered from the pit, which do not correspond to a widely used everyday assemblage. Furthermore, the relatively small number of vessels that could be restored from among the fragments supports the hypothesis that the pots had been broken elsewhere, and were subsequently moved and deposited within Pit 1.

This twofold pattern of deposition, then, points to a twofold set of activities taking place at and around the hill, which, instead of being contrasting, complemented and succeeded one another. The first part of activities involved the consumption of food and drink, evident in the repertoire of the shapes represented among the sherds (sauceboats, baking pans, bowls). This activity took place somewhere else, probably not very far from the pit; it involved a great number of people, as can be deduced by the amount of sherds recovered; and was followed by the breakage of the vessels used and the *en masse* deposition of the fragments on top of the hill. This practice was immediately followed by a second activity that took place at the site of the pit involving the whole and halved vessels, which were deposited *individually* among the fragments. These vessels belonged to a different, yet again restricted, range of shapes (one-handled cups, one- and two-handled tankards, bowls and basins), which, moreover, except for the latter which comprise two of the commonest shapes in EH II, do not constitute a frequent occurrence in EH II contexts. This is mirrored within the pit, with bowls and basins being common among the fragments of pottery, while sherds of closed vessels similar to the complete ones were not represented at all.

The special nature of the assemblage from Pit 1 is further demonstrated by the treatment of the surface of some of

the pots prior to their deposition, *i.e.* the creation of a small or larger hole on the lower bodies of closed vessels and the halving of open ones. The deliberate opening of a hole on the lower part of a pot brings up associations with the practice of libation, while the choice of the specific pattern of the bisection of bowls, and their placement on their sides with their interior exposed, can be justified by their use as containers for the deposition of perishable offerings, possibly foodstuffs.

The small amount of soil throughout the fill of Pit 1 implies episodes of deposition that took place within a short period of time. It also leads us to consider the possibility that in the time that elapsed between these activities, the objects that had been deposited remained uncovered and in full view to anyone who wanted to visit the site.

The situation in Pit 2 is still a little vague and will be clarified as soon as its study allows. Close examination of its stratification and the associations of the finds will solve issues of chronology raised by the apparent co-existence of sauceboats, typical of EH II contexts, and cheese pots, encountered in FN assemblages (*e.g.* Caskey 1972, 362, pl. 76; Wilson 1999, 13, pl. 42; Pullen 2000). Nevertheless, structured deposition appears to have taken place in the context of Pit 2 as well, although it involved fragments representing a more extensive range of shapes, which belonged to vessels employed not only for the consumption of food but also for its preparation (cooking pots, hearths, stands).

The available information from the two pits points to different episodes of deposition, arising from slightly different activities, with Pit 2 appearing to be at least slightly earlier. It is suggested that the activities associated with Pit 1 were part of a later event, or series of events, possibly commemorating the occasion that was responsible for the concentration of objects in Pit 2. Such events commemorating the past are known from the mainland in EH II, for example in Lerna (Wiencke 2000, 284–5, 297–8; Weiberg 2007, 153–85), Thebes (Aravantinos & Psaraki 2011), and Proskynas (Zahou *et al.* in press). Whatever the exact sequence of activities, it is clear that for those participating in them the specific location had a special meaning, possibly bearing mnemonic connotations, which, through the intervention of the performative character of deposition, had the purpose of creating social memory.

Viewed in the framework of this context, which displays such a strong Mainland character as far as the finds are concerned, the Cycladic figurine MMe234 seems out of place. However, as will become clear in the following chapters, due to the intensive exchange networks operating in the Aegean in the EH II period objects circulated widely and became embedded in practices, forming part of a dynamic social and cultural dialogue.



Figure 11.18 MMe262, MMe1044, MMe263. One-handled cups from Pit 1.

Mainland and Cycladic parallels: shapes and designs

The excavations in the area of the EH II pits have not revealed traces of any other contemporary activity. Nevertheless, the pits would undoubtedly have been placed within the bounds of a settlement or a cemetery, either unlocated or destroyed by the density of subsequent building activity, or even situated on top of the hill, to the east of the pits, and perhaps having collapsed together with the soil. It is true that sherds similar to those from the pits have been collected from the steep western slope, but it is impossible to ascertain whether they came from a settlement or cemetery context, or from an extension of the pits themselves.

The shapes of the complete vessels from Pit 1 belong to types that are not frequently encountered, especially in domestic assemblages. The predominant one-handled cup with a rounded base and a handle from the shoulder to the rim rising higher than the rim (average height 50 mm; Fig. 11.18) is reported in isolated examples from settlement contexts, *e.g.* Manika (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1986, 142, 248–9, fig. 14, pl. 50y; Sampson 1985, fig. 24βΓ4, pl. 24δ), Eutresis (Goldman 1931, 29, fig. 122), and Roush (Petritaki 1980, 170, fig. 55, pl. 46ε). The two sherds reported from Lerna (Wiencke 2000, 554–5, fig. II.82) and the four examples from the Acropolis (Pelekidis 1915, 34–5; Papazoglou-Manioudaki this volume) are of a similar, but not identical, type. The only settlement providing evidence for a plethora of one-handled cups is Lithares in Boeotia, where they were encountered in almost every room (Tzavella-Evjen 1984, 122–4, 154–5, pls 38–9). From the Cyclades, a single example is reported from Ayia Irini II in Kea (Wilson 1999, 25, pl. 6, 44).

The one-handled tankard with a flat base and a flat handle rising from the rim and terminating at the shoulder



Figure 11.19 MMe271. Pyxis-shaped vessel from Pit 1.

(average height 130 mm; see Fig. 11.10) seems to be even more scarcely encountered in settlements. Its shape is closely associated with the one-handled cup, appearing like its evolved and larger version (Mylonas 1959, 70). Two examples of a possible predecessor of the shape, of EH I date, are reported from Eutresis (Caskey and Caskey 1960, 140, fig. 7 III6; pl. 46 III7), as well as two more of early EH II date (Goldman 1931, 94, fig. 117:3,6; for relative chronology, see Wilson 2013). Only variations of the two-handled tankard with a flat base, bulging body, straight neck and horizontal handles (average height 120 mm; see Fig. 11.11) are represented in domestic contexts, *e.g.* Kavos-Vasili, Poros (Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou 2009, 502, fig. 8β), Eutresis (Goldman 1931, fig. 103). A variation of the small spherical pyxis with low neck and no lugs, similar to MMe271 (height 42 mm; Fig. 11.19), was found in the settlement of Lithares (Tzavella-Evjen 1984, 155, pl. 41α).

The evidence from cemeteries, as far as the complete vessels from Pit 1 are concerned, is richer. Small pyxides similar to those from the settlement are reported as the commonest grave offering from the Lithares cemetery

(Spyropoulos 1971, 39–40, pl. 39α). The same trait can be observed in the cemetery of Manika where numerous vessels of this shape were found as offerings in the earliest groups of graves ('waterjugs' in Papavasileiou 1910, 19, pl. B,E; Sampson 1985, 237; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987, 242, pl. 40c). A one-handled cup was encountered in one grave, associated with a bone figurine of a combination of the Louros and Plastiras type (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987, 242–3, pl. 41b; this volume), and a one-handled tankard came from another grave containing a concentration of frying pans (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987, 240, pl. 40e).

The most striking resemblances with Pit 1 from Nea Kephisia, however, are to be found in the North Cemetery of Aghios Kosmas, in which all the shapes of the complete pots from the pit are encountered. In fact, the one-handled cup, in five variations, is the most frequently encountered shape (C13a–e, Mylonas 1959, 69–70). Vessels were placed *outside* the graves, with the environs of grave 3 (areas A and B) displaying a concentration of vessels similar to the Pit 1 groupings (12 one-handled cups, two one-handled tankards, one two-handled tankard, various bowls and basins: Mylonas 1959, 73–8, figs 140–2; Weiberg 2007, fig. 75). Seven Cycladic figurines and several fragments of frying pans were found in the cemetery, most of them outside the graves, as well (see Kostanti & Christopoulou this volume). According to Mylonas (1959, 127–8), the sea urchin form underlies the majority of these shapes (cups, tankards), whose red slip and tall, almost vertical or tapering necks bring to mind Cycladic forms.

This form is brought to mind also when looking at the vessels from the other important cemetery in Attica, Tsepi (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 300–03). Although dated earlier, in EH I, certain of the vessels found as offerings within the graves demonstrate similarities with the forms of the complete vessels from Pit 1. These shapes include the pithoid jars with neck (Pantelidou-Gofa 2005, 303–05, pl. 30, T40:1) and the tankards (πρόχοι; Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 305, pl. 10, T9:2, T10:3), in analogy with the one- and two-handled tankards from Pit 1, as well as the miniature tankards (προχοῖσκες; Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 305–06, pl. 5, T6:1; pl. 10, T10:3), reminiscent of the one-handled cup. Pyxis-shaped vessels were encountered in graves (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 308, pl. 24, T23:1, T24:2). Several schematic Cycladic figurines were also part of the finds from Tsepi (Pantelidou Gofa this volume).

The available evidence from the examination of the shapes of the complete pots from Pit 1 allows us to place it in the early part of EH II, a dating also supported by the identification of the Urfirnis sauceboat from the penultimate layer of Pit 1 as belonging to Type 1 (Lerna IIIA–B; see Fig. 11.13).

The relatively frequent occurrence of the shapes from Pit 1 in cemetery contexts, with the exception of the

Lithares settlement, suggests that these vessels, probably used for holding liquid, were not meant for everyday use, a hypothesis corroborated by the evidence provided by the shape of the one-handled cup itself. The rounded base of the cup, combined with the heavy handle rising over the rim, produce a permanent imbalance and render it a far from handy, mundane, vessel. The association of these vessels with objects of Cycladic type, such as figurines and frying pans within cemetery deposits, which appear to have had a special function in various rituals, enhance the exceptional character of the deposit from Pit 1.

In contrast, based on the evidence for the existence of stands and hearths in most EH II settlement deposits, the context of Pit 2 appears domestic. Nevertheless, certain elements regarding these two vessels may present an alternative picture. As far as stands are concerned, their use as spit supports can only be tentatively assumed (see Pullen 2011a, 192–6, for detailed typology of the shape; for an alternative interpretation see Dumas 2011, 168–70, fig. 17.10). The deposition of two stands near the graves at Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959, 119), as well as the occurrence of a miniature figurine of a stand of the saddle type from the settlement of Lithares (Tzavella-Evjen 1984, 74, 148, pl. 82α), support the hypothesis of their participation in special, as opposed to everyday, activities.

Hearths of a circular or keyhole shape with decorated rims are widespread all over the Mainland during the EH II period (Wiencke 2000, 558; Pullen 2011a, 371–2; Galligan 2013). The stamped *kerbschnitt* pattern, however, that is encountered on the hearth rims from Pit 2 in Nea Kephisia compares more closely with the numerous examples from the earlier period of habitation of Ayia Irini II, Kea (developed, but not late, EBA II; Wilson 1999, 48–58; 2013, 402–03, fig. 8c), where a large number of stamped hearth rims have also been uncovered (Wilson 2015). The same pattern is repeated in numerous variations on the rims of the 'hat-shaped' vessels from the cemetery of Ayioi Anargyroi, Naxos, to which a ritual use is attributed (Dumas 1977, 103, pls 38–43).

The pattern on the rim of the keyhole-shaped hearth MMe235 (Fig. 11.17) is unique. It seems that the tool used for the impression of the *kerbschnitt* motif that decorated it was pressed six consecutive times clockwise, producing a makeshift star. Since this fragment originates from the corner of the keyhole shape, it is possible that the design was repeated on the opposite corner, as well. The star motif is encountered on the centre of frying pans of both Cycladic and Mainland origin, with the Cycladic examples being mostly large and hand-drawn (Coleman 1985, 201, pl. 33, figs 1–3; Marthari 2017), whereas on the mainland examples the star is smaller with impressed rays (Theocharis 1951, fig. 26γ; Mylonas 1959, 85–6, fig. 148:190; Coleman 1985, 201, pl. 37, fig. 29).

The *kerbschnitt* motif constitutes the prevalent border pattern of frying pans, and on one example it has been employed in order to form the central star itself (Coleman 1985, 211, pl. 36, fig. 17).

It appears, then, that the hearth rims from Pit 2 are associated, via their decoration, with two far from everyday types of vessel, the 'hat-shaped' vessel and the frying pan. The repetition of the same motif across different shapes links these vessels in a symbolic repertoire, in which Cycladic and Mainland elements become fused. The evidence for the out-of-the-ordinary character of the two pits from Nea Kephisia provided by the parallel contemporary material justifies the assumption that this is probably where the re-contextualised Cycladic figurine MMe234 originally came from.

Mainland and Cycladic parallel contexts: practices

Despite the current lack of information on the specific occasions that triggered the episodes of structured deposition in the Nea Kephisia pits, we are able to trace similar contemporary contexts both from the Mainland and the Cyclades. These show evidence for the enactment of practices involving the consumption of food and drink on a communal scale, and the subsequent deposition of the fragments of vessels used and of other categories of objects (whole pots, obsidian blades and cores, animal bones, Cycladic figurines), which were treated as *offerings*.

EBA settlements have provided evidence for feasting on a communal level, sometimes impressive in scale, for example at Lerna (Pullen 2011b, 220–5; Wiencke 2000; 2011) and Proskynas (Zahou this volume). Moreover, the deliberate deposition of sets of vessels related to feasting activities is reported from settlements, for example at Tsoungiza (Pullen 2011a, 377; 2011b) and Eutresis (Goldman 1931, 20). The deposition of a combination of a large amount of fragmented pottery and complete vessels is evident in a well at Romanou in Messenia (Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2012, 119–20), whereas from a pit in the same area, filled with pottery fragments, over a hundred bovine horns are reported, together with complete vessels bearing a hole on their base. It is not clear whether the holes were made pre- or post-firing, but the excavator supports association with some kind of ritual activity (Rambach 2012). Holes in bases are also encountered at Lithares, but these were definitely made before firing and are interpreted by the excavator as integral to the use of the vessel as a pot for plants (Tzavella-Evjen 1984, 160, pl. 55η–ι; see also Liaros & Kountouri 2009, 847). From a plot in Manika a unique shape is mentioned, identified as a rhyton, bearing a narrow opening in its base but this is not

clearly discernible in the drawing or the picture (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1986, 137, dr. 9, pl. 43δ).

Nevertheless, it is with the data from cemeteries that the two pits from Nea Kephisia have more in common, with similarities encompassing, besides the objects selected, the pattern of deposition. The existence of pits is reported from two cemeteries in Attica, Tsepi and Asteria, which, although placed in the EH I period (an even earlier date is suggested for the Tsepi pit, see Petrakos 2007, 18–19), point to a prevalent practice of depositing vessels as offerings during, or shortly after, the enactment of a performative ritual. In Pit 39 from Tsepi, the vessels were deposited in groupings consisting of the same repeated types of vessels (Petrakos 2001, 20–2; Pantelidou Gofa 2002, 1–4), which were then broken *in situ* by pebbles and stones (Petrakos 2000, 28). This process took place during frequent consecutive episodes, and in the meantime the deposit was left uncovered (Pantelidou Gofa 2008, 281–9). The same practice of open deposition followed by deliberate fragmentation on site is reported from the partly excavated pit at Asteria, Glyfada, which also contained two schematic marble figurines (Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 45–60; this volume). Part of a violin-shaped marble figurine was found in Pit 39 (Pantelidou Gofa this volume).

The practice of the deposition of vessels shortly after their usage within the framework of a ritual is evident also in the North Cemetery at Aghios Kosmas. The concentration of 47 vessels, all but one, one-handled cups, in the irregularly paved Area V next to graves 25 and 30, constitutes evidence for the enactment of a drinking ceremony, with the pots used once and then left complete on site. Based on the small amount of soil on and around the vessels, and their being tightly packed by pebbles, this appears to reflect a single event or a series of episodes closely spaced in time (Mylonas 1959). This area may have constituted a pit that was subsequently destroyed (Pantelidou Gofa 2008, 281–9). Another practice in common with the Nea Kephisia pits encompasses the deposition of obsidian blades around every grave, found between, and on some occasions within, the vases (large incised pyxis from Area B, outside Grave 3), with evidence, especially from Area O situated next to Area V, pointing towards on-site knapping in the context of a ceremony (Mylonas 1959, 78, 106, 112–19; Weiberg 2007, 344–8; Carter 2007, 94–6).

From the Cyclades, a small pit outside the graves in Alonistria Chousouri, Epáno Kouphonisi, is reported to contain two canonical folded-arm figurines covered by a marble bowl (Gavalas 2017), while another parallel is offered by the cemetery of Ayioi Anargyroi, Naxos, where almost 30 examples of a single shape – the 'hat-shaped' vessel – were found deposited on a platform next to the graves, after, or while, taking part in a ritual practice (Doumas 1977, 103–05).

The association of the decoration of their rims with that on the hearth-rims from Pit 2 cannot be overlooked.

The Cycladic figurine from Nea Kephisia in the context of the pits: transformation

The Cycladic character of the deposit from the North Cemetery at Aghios Kosmas, with which Pit 1 from Nea Kephisia has so much in common, has been pointed out by many scholars. Moreover, the deposits from the two pits with their prevalent Mainland stylistic nature have been shown in the previous chapters to contain elements linking them to the Cyclades. It has recently been argued that the regions of Attica and its closest islands (Euboea, Kea, Aegina, Andros) operated as a 'gateway' connecting the Cyclades with the rest of the Mainland, through which materials, objects and knowledge circulated and were exchanged within broad or more local networks (Broodbank 2000; Kouka 2008; Nazou 2010). In this sense, these regions displayed a unique combination of 'mainland' and 'Cycladic' cultural traditions, in which 'foreign' objects were imported, produced locally or adapted into new forms. These objects are viewed as carriers of knowledge and as components of exclusive and exceptional practices. In this sense, the Cycladic figurine fragment MMe234 is not treated here as an object that only fits the data stylistically and chronologically, but, instead, as *part of a practice* that can be traced on both the Mainland and the islands of the Cyclades in EB II.

It is proposed that the potential participation of the Cycladic figurine in the activities taking place on top of the hill in Nea Kephisia can be viewed within the framework of the practice of *transformation*. Every powerful social act entails the notion of transformation, through which the present merges with the past. The body also undergoes transformations which are marked by powerful performative ceremonies (*rites de passage*). In the context of Pit 1, transformation is evident in the deliberate *fragmentation* of the vessels used during the feasting activities. The importance attributed to the action of breakage is stressed by the subsequent moving of the remains to the site and their deposition.

A deliberate act of transformation was also practised upon the vessels constituting the groupings in Pit 1, evident in the *modification of their shape* (holes on lower bodies of cups and tankards, halving of bowls). Modification, the act of the physical intervention on the body of a known form through which it is transformed into something different, is a highly performative symbolic activity, rendering the ordinary into something exceptional. The modified special objects are deposited and, therefore, withdrawn from circulation, but

their ordinary versions continue to circulate, perpetuating the practice and ensuring its durability.

The fragmentary Cycladic figurine from Nea Kephisia, therefore, becomes a probable participant in the activities taking place within the context of Pit 1 through the act of transformation that has been practised upon its form. Fragmentation on its body is evident, and has occurred in two places: under the folded arms and right above the knees. The latter fracture is justified considering the probability of the legs separating just below the knees, rendering that spot quite delicate. The former breakage, though, cannot be explained in terms of inherent fragility in the shape – this should be its strongest point, the torso being thicker and wider than all the other parts. This particular pattern of fragmentation does not appear accidental, and is frequently encountered among the fragmented Cycladic figurines deposited in settlement and cemetery contexts (e.g. Nea Styra MK3035, 3039, 3042: Kosma this volume; Ayia Irini SF228, 229: Wilson 2017). The most numerous similar examples, however, originate from the Special Deposits North and South at Kavos on the island of Keros (Renfrew *et al.* 2018; forthcoming; Sotirakopoulou 2005, fig. 5,6), where the evidence refutes accidental breakage. It appears that the figurines, pottery and marble vessels constituting these two contexts, extraordinary in many ways, had been deliberately and systematically broken elsewhere (Sotirakopoulou *et al.* 2017), and were subsequently transported to the island in order to be deposited during periodically enacted rituals (Renfrew 2013). It becomes evident that the transformation, through breakage, of the form of the figurines and their subsequent deposition was practised in various contexts (settlement, cemetery, ritual: see Wilson 2017) and had some symbolic meaning and function for both the living and the dead.

A further act of transformation is evident upon certain Cycladic figurines, and that is the modification of their form by the addition of paint, with the motifs interpreted as symbols which conveyed exclusive knowledge during a possibly long process of circulation before their final deposition (for a full discussion, see Hendrix 2003). Motifs depict anatomical details, but also patterns on the face and body, and have been seen as corresponding to a similar treatment of the human body, a view supported by the remains of pigments on the surfaces of vessels from cemetery contexts (especially marble bowls, palettes and pestles). Similarly, the large numbers of long obsidian blades from such contexts have been explained in relation to practices of body modification (shaving, tattooing, scarification) during important rituals (Carter 1994; 2008; Hoffman 2002).

The process of fragmentation and modification evident in Pit 1 from Nea Kephisia, and variously practised upon

the form of Cycladic figurines, is therefore the link between the recontextualised Cycladic figurine MMe234 and the EH II pits. The subsequent deposition of the fragments and the modified vessels during a ritual process, besides ultimately constituting the event that has rendered them available to us, is the practice that links similar or different Mainland and Cycladic contexts, like the ones reviewed above. We cannot be sure of the exact practices that took place in settlements or cemeteries or ritual places, which involved the transformation of the forms of vessels, figurines and bodies. We do, however, know that the dual practice of modification and deposition taking place in these contexts constituted a kind of ‘sacrifice’ governed by a wish to render the objects involved unusable. In this sense, it was a structured act of destruction which at the same time promoted reconstruction into something new through novel associations, reminiscent of cycles of death and rebirth (Chapman 2000; Brittain & Morris 2010). The repeated visits to the specific deposit sites over a lengthy period of time (seen at the two Special Deposits on Keros, at Tsepi Pit 39, and the Nea Kephisia pits) in order to repeat the same practice, constitute an act of memory and reverence, and can be viewed in the context of strategies for ensuring the continuity of place and the construction of social memory.

Conclusion

It appears that during the Early Bronze Age, Cycladic figurines played an important part in special activities with ritual character, deposited either complete, as grave offerings, or in the course of activities involving the modification of their form through painting or breakage. Their life-histories may have been long, both prior to and after their fragmentation; they may have continued to circulate as fragments before their final deposition, perhaps taking part in everyday practices, but always carrying their association with the powerful performative special occasions that involved their transformation.

As far as the two pits from Nea Kephisia are concerned, we are faced with an exceptional, performative communal practice involving the fragmentation and deposition of vessels used in a feasting activity, and the contemporaneous deposition of groups of vessels, having undergone a modification of their form in order to be used for libations and the offering of food. The exact nature of the practice eludes us, but it possibly functioned as a mechanism for the construction and maintenance of communal identity through the creation and propagation of common memories and collective narratives.

The fragmented Cycladic figurine could have been introduced originally into the performative acts of transformation taking place at the site, bearing its own

connotations of symbolic destruction and reconstruction through which people reaffirmed their bonds of kinship and communality. At the same time, it would have brought with it associations with other objects, materials and knowledge from distant or more proximate contexts, contributing to the merging of traditions. In this sense, the fragmentary Cycladic figurine, through its dynamic integration into local practices, would have become ‘Helladic’, and at the same time it would have contributed to the configuration of ‘Helladic’.

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CYCLADIC-TYPE FIGURINES FROM THE EARLY HELLADIC CEMETERY OF ASTERIA AT GLYFADA, ATTICA

Konstantina Kaza-Papageorgiou

The site of Asteria at Glyfada covers most of the northern half of the Pounta peninsula, which is located on the west coast of Attica (Fig. 12.1), between the Early Helladic settlement and cemetery at the Aghios Kosmas peninsula to the north (Mylonas 1959) and Vouliagmeni to the south, where a Final Neolithic site (Yiamalidi *et al.* forthcoming) and Early Helladic finds are known (Paraskevaïdi 1958; Schachermeyer 1962).

In 1998, during modernisation and restoration works of the 1950s spa and hotel facilities at Asteria, important antiquities came to light in two sectors: 1A and 1B (Fig. 12.2; these two sectors were subsequently declared protected archaeological sites by the Ministry of Culture due to the important research results). Consequently, archaeological investigations were carried out by the Archaeological Service of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture which lasted until 2003. Since 2012, the research has continued, as a systematic excavation, under the aegis of the Archaeological Society of Athens (Kaza-Papageorgiou 2000; 2004; 2005; 2006a, 45–60; 2006b; 2009, 437–9; 2012, pls 1–2; 2013; Petrakos 2012, 13–17; 2013, 11–13; 2014, 11–13).

Sector 1A: this sector is located at the northern cove of the area, some 90 m from the coastline. The excavation has uncovered a large rectangular *peribolos* (enclosure)

for a length of 44 m, with a width of 24 m. It defines an activity area of unknown extent. Pits cut into the bedrock, as well as other human-made features, were found. Based on the artefacts retrieved, the constructions are connected with metallurgical activities dating to the late 3rd–early 2nd millennium BC (see Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006a, 47–51, where Sector 1A is called sector Δ). The *peribolos* seems to have been disturbed in places by a Late Roman cemetery, from which 42 graves have been excavated. The cemetery seems to have belonged to a settlement that was related to the Early Christian basilica at Glyfada. The latter's remains are still visible today on the northern cove of the peninsula (Orlandos 1930, 258; Sotiriou 1929, 186; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2015, 44–5).

Sector 1B: the second archaeological sector is located on a low hill (c. 7 ha), at the southern edge of the site of Asteria. The hill ends to the west in a small, closed cove, while to the east it runs smoothly to a plateau, reaching the coastal road. On the other side of the road lies the Mycenaean cemetery of Alyki Glyfada-Voula, where an EH grave has also been found (Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 1988, 19). Theodorakis (1956, 1) mentions an EH grave at Asteria, and traces of a 'Neolithic settlement' in his report to the relevant Ephorate of Antiquities. So far, this sector has yielded: a) an Early Helladic cemetery, b) an Early Helladic pit-



Figure 12.1 Part of the west coast of Attica, with the Pounta peninsula to the north and Vouliagmeni to the south.

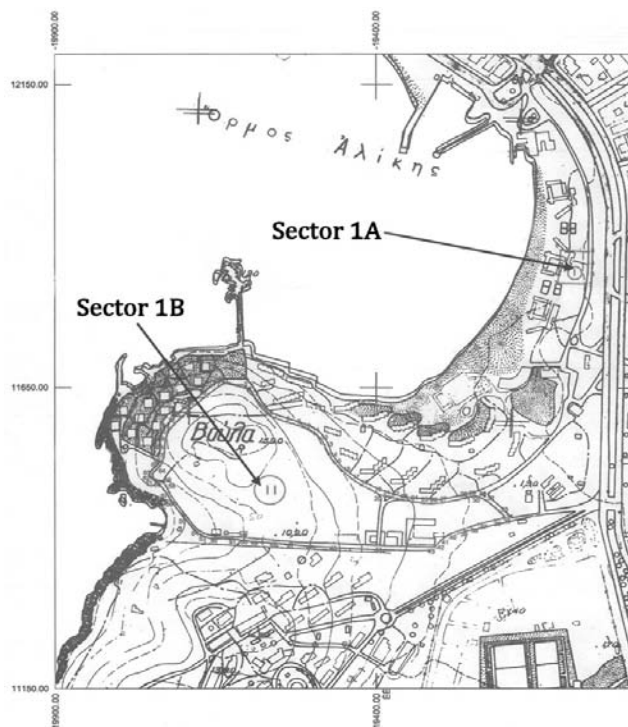


Figure 12.2 Pounta peninsula. Archaeological sectors 1A and 1B.

deposit (originally having an industrial character), and c) four Early Helladic stone heaps (Fig. 12.3; Petrakos 2012, 13–16; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2012, 4–5; 2013, 5; forthcoming).

Cemetery

An extended Early Helladic cemetery was found at a distance of 30 m from the coastline (for the use of the term ‘cemetery’ in cases of EH burial grounds, see Weiberg 2007, 242; for the selection of suitable burial grounds, see Weiberg 2007, 264–6; for Cycladic cemeteries in general, see Doumas 1977, 29–36). The cemetery, which was enclosed by a 62 m long *peribolos*, was organised in terraces. After removing the topsoil layer (0.2–0.5 m thick), we started to expose clusters of graves, which clearly followed a plan (Fig. 12.4). Each grave was enclosed by a three-sided *peribolos*; the fourth side was furnished with a small opening functioning as an entrance to the chamber. The Asteria burial structures have parallels at the two Attic EH cemeteries of Tsepi (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 287–8) and Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959, 66; Weiberg 2007, 308–11). The underground chambers were circular or roughly



Figure 12.3 Archaeological sector 1B. The cemetery (N), the pit-deposits (A) and the stone heap (Λ).



Figure 12.4 View of the cemetery with cluster of graves and segment of the *peribolos*.



Figure 12.5 The chamber of grave 14. Skeleton *in situ*.

circular in shape, had a diameter of about 1 m, a depth of 1 m, and were cut into the rock (for underground rock-cut tombs since the Final Neolithic period, see Sotirakopoulou 2008a, 82–3; 2008b, 132; Dumas 1977, 49). In most cases, the chambers were covered by a large stone slab. On top of most of these capstones, there were stone structures of different shapes, built with great care out of small, carefully selected stones. These structures were probably connected to burial rituals (Barber 1994, 84–5). It is possible, however, that they also functioned as burial markers (Weiberg 2007, 378–9). The *stomion* of the chambers was closed by two or three standing slabs at the inner edge of the *prothyron* (vestibule), which was carved on a higher level than that of the chamber floor (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 292). The graves under investigation had been used for multiple burials. In the chambers, apart from a burial found *in situ* in front of the entrance (Fig. 12.5), bone heaps of numerous skeletons were found, clearly the remains of earlier burials, which had been pushed towards the back of the chambers. The objects accompanying the deceased found in the chambers were few when compared to the number of the deceased (Weiberg 2007, 202). They mostly consist of small or medium-sized vases such as frying pans (Petrakos 2012, 13, 16, figs 3–4; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2012, 4–5; forthcoming), beads, bone palettes (for parallels from Tsepi, see Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 140, pls 21.8, 21.9), Cycladic-type figurines, sea shells (Weiberg 2007, 294), and obsidian blades (for obsidian blades in graves, see Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 321–3; Weiberg 2007, 292–3, 344–8; for the circulation of obsidian in the Aegean, see Renfrew *et al.* 1965). The grave goods found in the Tsepi graves were also few, while numerous objects were found in a deposit, as is also the case in the Asteria pit-deposit (for similar examples, see Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006a, 57 note 28).

This study presents the Cycladic-type figurines recovered so far from the Asteria cemetery, in connection with their context and other artefacts (Kaza-Papageorgiou 2019).

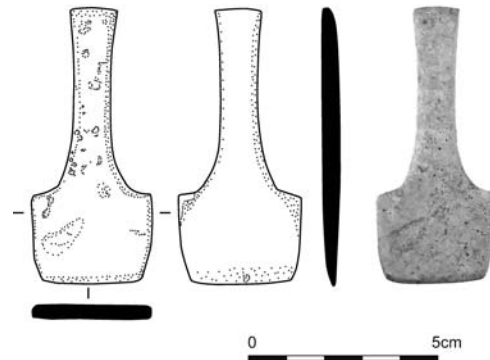


Figure 12.6 Figurine 1: spatula-type figurine. Scale 1:2.

A spatula-type figurine (no. 1) was found in grave 11. Two spade-type figurines (nos 2 and 3) come from grave 16. A spatula-type figurine (no. 4) and a miniature bipartite figurine (no. 5) were found in the pit-deposit on a layer of stones along with whole and fragmentary vessels. Lastly, the lower-half of a figurine close to the Louros-type (no. 6) was found in an undisturbed EH layer of brown soil and numerous small stones.

Catalogue

Figurine 1. Spatula-type figurine (Fig. 12.6).

MP11674, excavation group 764ζ

Height 70 mm; height of neck 45 mm; width at shoulder 29 mm, width at base 24 mm, width at top of neck 9 mm, width at middle of neck 75 mm; maximum thickness 3 mm.

Spatula-type figurine made of translucent marble, polished in particular on one side (for this rare type, which is similar to the spade-type, see Sotirakopoulou 2005, 53; for a figurine of the same type, see Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 141, no. 19.11, pl. 22). Small breakage on one shoulder, extended incrustations on one side, spots and small corrosion holes on the other. Body squat, trapezoidal with angular shoulders and bevelled base, the edges of which are rounded. The outline of the body is rectangular. The neck appears like an oblong flattened bar with concave outlines. It has a bevelled apex on one side, somewhat wider than the rest of the neck.

The figurine was found at the bottom of a pit identified as cist grave 11, with its four sides defined by carved bedrock, medium-sized stones in two or three courses, and a standing slab. It is possible, however, that this pit could have been a side chamber of an unexplored grave which may be located under a nearby pine tree. The pit contained a brown-coloured fill; towards the eastern half of the pit, and in random places, we located three disintegrated skulls, fragments of a fourth, and several small scattered bones. The skeletal material belongs to at least eleven children; some animal bones have also been identified (see Appendix). The following objects were found: four miniature vessels,

Figurine 1, which was found at the southeastern corner of the relatively flat floor of the pit (Fig. 12.7), and four sea shells. A similar shell was also found in a child burial (grave 15) at Tsepi (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 110, pl. 15.15). Based on the finds and the skeletal material found in the fill, we are dealing with the secondary deposition of part of the skeletal material of child burials, which had apparently been accompanied by the miniature vessels, the sea shells and the figurine. The skeletal material and accompanying artefacts were deposited at the same time. The presence of figurines and miniature vessels in child burials is common in the Greek world, both in prehistoric and historical times. The interpretation of these figurines as substitutes for divine *kourotrophoi* and of the vases as toys is the most prevalent and most plausible (see Tzonou-Herbst 2009 for discussion of Mycenaean figurines).

Figurine 2. Spade-type figurine (Fig. 12.8).

Excavation group 15–47.2

Height 97 mm; maximum width of body 47 mm, thickness 4 mm; height of neck 45 mm, width at top of neck 16 mm, thickness at neck 3 mm.

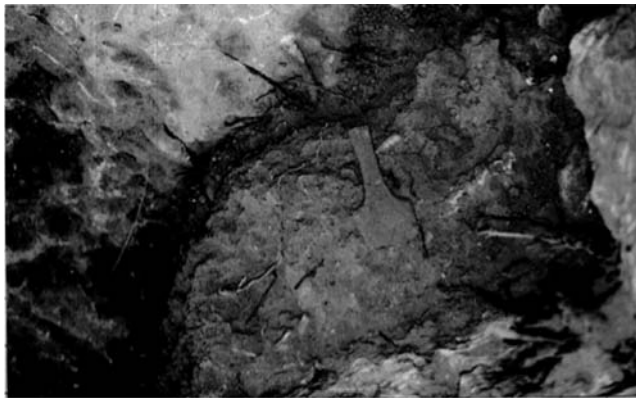


Figure 12.7 'Grave' 11. Figurine 1 *in situ*.

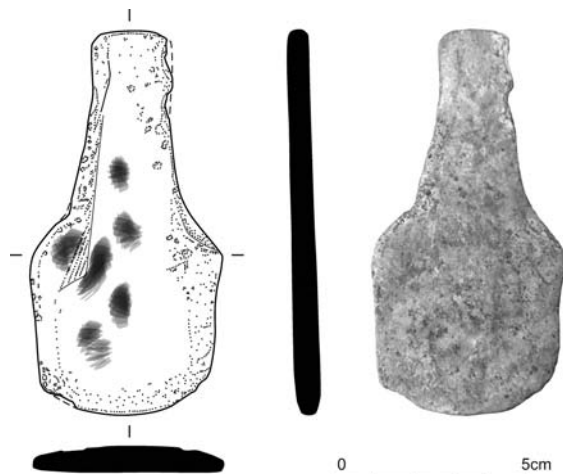


Figure 12.8 Figurine 2: spade-type figurine. Scale 1:2.

Spade-type figurine made of transparent marble with a brown patina, with deposits, small spots and erosion mainly on the outline of the neck (for the type, see Sotirakopoulou 2005, 53; for parallels, see Doumas 2000, 65.9 and Theodoris 1955, 286, 292, fig. Γ 1). On one side of the body there are traces of red colour, perhaps remnants of the decoration of the figurine, or perhaps due to its coming into contact with a vessel containing red pigment.

On the other side, a series of independent and undiagnostic incised marks begin at the base of the neck and end in the middle of the body. On one side of the neck and on the base, there are sizable breakages. Body trapezoidal with one shoulder angular and the other rounded. The neck appears like a flattened stem, which has the shape of an elongated trapezium with curved outline. This figurine was found along with a miniature marble bowl (excavation group 15–47.1) that contained traces of red colour. From the same grave comes a sea shell (*Spondylus gaederopus*), which also has traces of red colour (excavation group 15–48στ). (For pigments and colouring, red pigment in particular, see Birtacha 2003, 264–6 and note 21, for the presence of pigments in Cycladic graves; see also Papadatos 2003, 284–8 and Sotirakopoulou 2005, 67–8, for the colouring of figurines and its meaning.)

Figurine 3. Spade-type figurine (Fig. 12.9).

Excavation group 15–48δ

Height 76 mm; maximum preserved width of body 37 mm, thickness 4 mm; height of neck 33 mm, width of neck 15 mm, thickness at neck 3 mm.

Spade-type figurine made of transparent marble with a brown-white patina and with deposits on the surface, mainly on the back. This side has a large breakage on shoulder that seems to be due to the uneven texture of the marble. On the front, about half of the body surface is polished, while the remainder has flakes and breakages, with the largest on the right shoulder continuing on the corresponding outline of the neck and the top of neck. Body trapezoidal with curved outline and narrow base of square section. The neck appears like a flattened stem, which has the shape of an elongated trapezium with almost straight outline and square section.

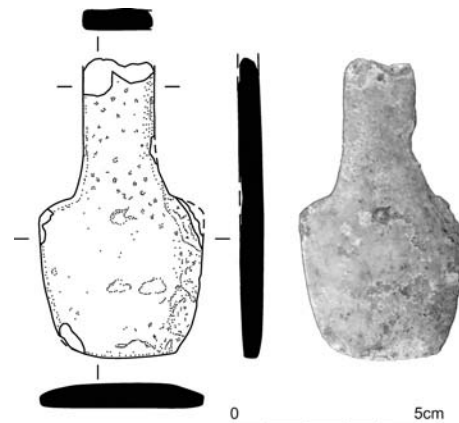


Figure 12.9 Figurine 3: spade-type figurine. Scale 1:2.



Figure 12.10 Pit 1 (grave 16).

Figurines 2 and 3 were found in the underground chamber tomb 16. Originally, the structure was a four-sided pit of an industrial character, which was transformed into a grave (Fig. 12.10; Petrakos 2015; Kaza-Papageorgiou forthcoming). The circular chamber of the grave, which became wider towards the bottom, has a maximum diameter of 1.45 m and a depth of 1.05 m. The chamber was not covered and had no *prothyron* (vestibule). The pit was full of a sandy fill mixed with a few scattered pottery sherds, several obsidian fragments and heaps of skeletal remains, which occupied most of the available space. The bone heap was covered by stone slabs, which in a way sealed the grave and formed a level surface. Two large and ten smaller supporting stones were placed on top of that surface. The bone heap yielded several skulls, which

had been placed in an orderly fashion on the top, as well as bones of various sizes and preservation from all parts of the body. At least 15 individuals are represented. Many bones were found in articulation. Two groups of objects were found in the fill of the lower part of the heap. The location of the grave goods does not permit us to connect them to the individuals buried there as older burials were moved around when a new burial took place. However, there was a deliberate attempt to keep the skulls at the top of the heap. Figurine 2, along with a miniature marble bowl which still bears traces of red colour in its interior (excavation group 15–47.1) and a miniature clay pyxis (excavation group 15–47.3) had been placed on the floor of a niche cut into the eastern wall of the chamber, 0.15 m from the chamber's floor level. Figurine 3 was found on the floor near the northern side of the chamber, along with a shell with traces of red colour (excavation group 15–48 στ) and a fragment of bronze tweezers (excavation group 15–48 γ and ε). A similar example of tweezers has been found at the Aghios Kosmas cemetery (Mylonas 1959, fig. 163, 12; Sotirakopoulou 2008a, 81). The artefacts in question were located directly below four clay vessels: three spherical pyxis-like vases (Figs 12.17, 12.18; for the shape, see Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 308) and a frying pan (excavation groups 15–47.4, 15–47.7, 15–47.8 and 15–48 β), which seem to have been pushed aside. The most characteristic of all was the frying pan (Fig. 12.11; excavation group 15–47.4).

Figurine 4. Spatula-type figurine (Fig. 12.12).

MP9889, excavation group 401

Height 127 mm; maximum preserved width of body 61 mm, minimum preserved width of body 39 mm, thickness 5 mm; height of neck 68 mm, width of neck 13 mm, width at top of neck 9 mm, thickness at neck 6 mm.

Spatula-type figurine from transparent fine marble, joined from two sections after breakage in antiquity, 18 mm above the base of the neck. Two sizable mending holes have been drilled off-centre either side of the horizontal point of breakage (for the mending of figurines, see Barber 1994, 84, 133–4; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 69–70; Papadatos 2003, 282; a similar break and similar mending holes can be seen in a violin-shaped figurine, no. 11, in the Museum of Cycladic Art: Doumas 2000, 66).

On the well-polished surface of the marble, brown spots of erosion are observed mainly on the side of the body that faced down, as deposited. On both sides of the neck and on the other of the body, the spots are considerably less. The figurine has breakages at the three ends of the body. Body trapezoidal with rounded base and shoulder angles to form a curved outline. The elongated flattened neck, of square section, results in a slightly narrower apex, with two bevelled edges.

Figurine 5. Bipartite miniature figurine (Fig. 12.13).

MP9897, excavation group 543

Height 37 mm; maximum width 10 mm, minimum width 5 mm; thickness of upper part 2 mm, thickness of lower part 4 mm.

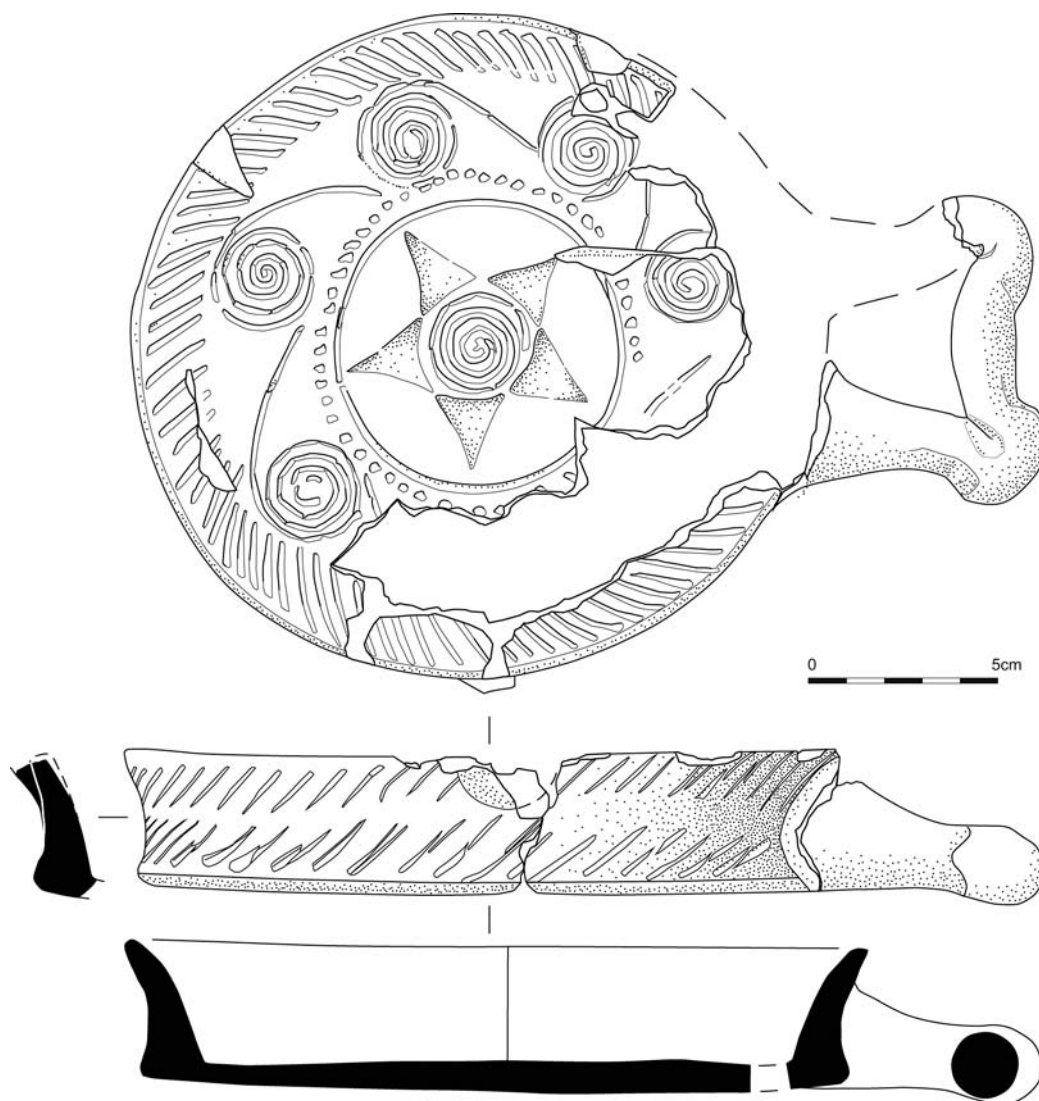


Figure 12.11 Frying pan from grave 16.

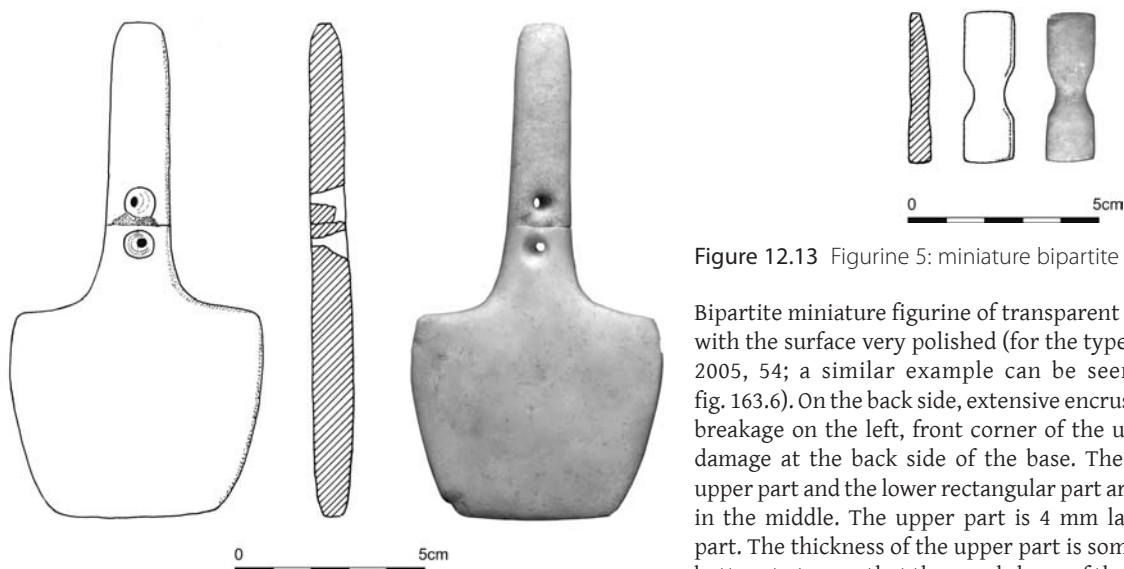


Figure 12.12 Figurine 4: spade-type figurine. Scale 1:2.

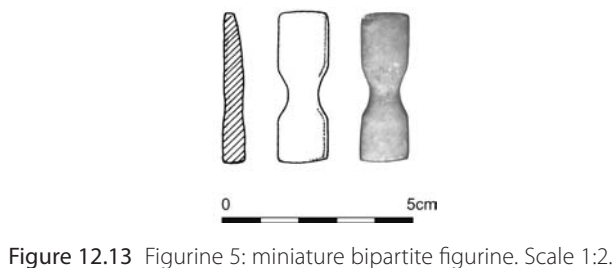


Figure 12.13 Figurine 5: miniature bipartite figurine. Scale 1:2.

Bipartite miniature figurine of transparent fine-grained marble, with the surface very polished (for the type, see Sotirakopoulou 2005, 54; a similar example can be seen in Mylonas 1959, fig. 163.6). On the back side, extensive encrustation. It has a slight breakage on the left, front corner of the upper part and slight damage at the back side of the base. The slightly trapezoidal upper part and the lower rectangular part are noticeably reduced in the middle. The upper part is 4 mm larger than the lower part. The thickness of the upper part is somewhat reduced from bottom to top, so that the usual shape of the head of the Cycladic figurines be discerned.



Figure 12.14 Line of pits used for burials (graves 2, 17 and 16, from west to east).

Figurines 4 and 5 were found in the west sector of a pit next to the cemetery. Originally industrial in nature, part of it was subsequently used for a deposit (Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006a, 51–9; 2009, 439–40, figs 9–10; Petrakos 2014, 11–13). The pit is wide, circular in shape, with a diameter of over 10 m, created by the removal of bedrock up to 0.8 m in thickness. The pit was filled with several layers of stones and soil. It was located in the eastern corner of the cemetery, very close to two clusters of graves. Almost all of the graves had originally been used as industrial rectangular pits, which were later expanded and transformed into chambers for secondary multiple burials (Fig. 12.14; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2015, 1–5; 2016, 7–8). From one part of the pit, which is still not fully explored, came several dozen vases (whole and

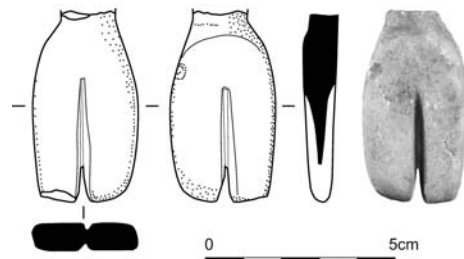


Figure 12.15 Figurine 6, of a type close to the Louros type. Scale 1:2.

fragmentary) and other artefacts such as obsidian blades and chips, stone tools and sea shells, as well as figurines 4 and 5 (for the shapes of the vases from the deposits, see Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006a, figs 18 and 19). The artefacts of the deposit were apparently used in the framework of burial rituals (Weiberg 2007, 372). They were found in the upper stone layer of the pit and date before the EH II period. The stone layer itself is the product of secondary deposition from an industrial area for metallurgical activities, as indicated by the presence of FN-EH I pottery and numerous fragments of litharge (Petrakos 2014, 12; Petrakos 2015; Kaza-Papageorgiou forthcoming), which confirm that activities of this character were carried out near the cemetery. Only one fragment of litharge has been found at Tsepi (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 323; for early litharge in Attica, see Kakavogianni *et al.* 2004, 45–57; 2016, 445–6; Douni *et al.* forthcoming).

Figurine 6. Fragment of a figurine close to the Louros type (Fig. 12.15).

MP11676, excavation group 743α

Preserved height 48 mm; width at pelvis 24 mm, thickness at pelvis 6 mm; height of legs 29 mm; width at waist 12 mm, thickness at waist 4 mm; length of notch between legs 7 mm.

Fragment of a figurine close to the Louros type, which preserves the legs and a small part of the body above the waist, just 3 mm high (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 59). The waist is denoted by a shallow, incised ring, polished, not detectable throughout its whole perimeter. The legs are separated by a notch at the end. One surface of the figurine, probably the front, has extensive encrustations with pale brown patina from the strong corrosion of the material. The legs, of unequal width (10 mm and 8 mm), end bevelled with a corresponding width of 8 mm and 5 mm without anatomical features (feet or toes). This is why the figurine is classified as ‘close to the Louros type’. It was found in a trench whose excavation was not completed, north of a cluster of graves at the western sector of the cemetery. It was located in the first undisturbed EH layer, under the surface layer, with sherds of both EH I and EH II periods. In the future, it may be shown that the cemetery extends to this area as well.

Conclusions

Of the six figurines found at Asteria, three come from graves, two from the pit-deposit (which is closely related



Figure 12.16 Miniature vase from grave 11.

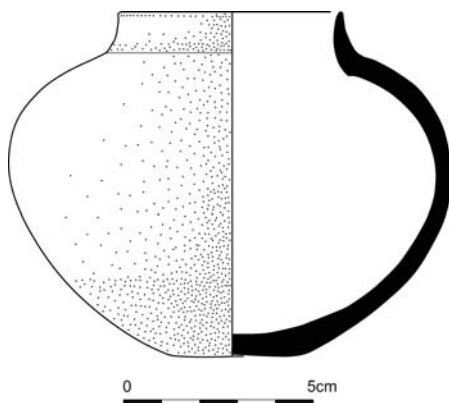


Figure 12.17 Drawing of a pyxis-shaped vase from grave 16.



Figure 12.18 Pyxis-shaped vases from grave 16.

to the cemetery), while the sixth figurine, which is the only fragmentary one, cannot so far be connected to a funerary structure. The presence of figurines in graves and in the general area of the cemetery seems to be of a symbolic character (Mylonas 1959, 141; Barber 1994, 84; Birtacha 2003, 273; Papadatos 2003, 281–2), something which has been also suggested for LH figurines (Demakopoulou 1988). It is noteworthy that the two graves (11 and 16) which yielded the three figurines (numbers 1, 2 and 3) contained child burials (along with adults), which were accompanied by the extremely interesting miniature vessels (Fig. 12.16).

Based on the typology of Cycladic figurines (Renfrew 1969, 4, 28; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 50–1), five of our examples (numbers 1–5) date to the EC I period, while Figurine 6 dates to the transitional EC I–II period. The relatively coarse clay with mica, as well as the technical characteristics of the accompanying miniature vessels in grave 11, support an EH I date of figurine 1.

The vessels from grave 16 (Figs 12.11, 12.17 and 12.18), which were placed at the lower burial layer along with the figurines, and therefore accompanied the earliest of the 15 deceased, date before the EC II period. They are globular vessels with no handles or lugs and low cylindrical necks, which look similar to the pyxis-shaped vessels from Tsepi that date to the late EC I to early EC II period (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 308). The frying pan, almost identical to an example (no. 210) from Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959, 59, fig. 148), belongs to the group of frying pans from Attica which depict a star and a spiral at the centre (see Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 310–13). Therefore, figurines 2 and 3 date to the EC I period. It should be noted, however, that sauceboat sherds were found in the upper layers of grave 16, as well as around the two *in situ* poorly preserved skeletons, the latest in the grave. As a consequence, the last use of the

grave should be dated to the EC II period, but the figurines must have accompanied some of the earlier burials.

Based on their typology, as well as the vases found along with them in the pit-deposits, figurines 4 and 5 date to the EC I period. The vases, mostly bowls, cups and miniature jars, date to the late EC I–early EC II period, definitely before the appearance of characteristic EC II types such as sauceboats, jugs, and ring-based bowls. Based on typology, the fragment of Figurine 6 (Louros type) dates to the transitional EH I–II period. This dating is supported by the accompanying pottery given that the undisturbed EH layer in which the figurine was found included mostly EH I examples, as well as several of an EH II date. The presence of material from two periods in the same layer is due to the sloping of the ground and the natural disturbance that would have taken place during its formation.

In Attica in general, and at Asteria in particular, spade-type (figurines 2 and 3) and spatula-type figurines (1 and 4) are more common during the early EC period, which raises questions about their origin, as they are very rare in the Cyclades. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that these particular figurines may be Attic creations of Cycladic type.

The four figurines from Asteria, two from Tsepi (Petrakos 1995, 127, fig. 63; Pantelidou Gofa 2005, pl. 22.11), one from the site of Kovatsi near Markopoulo (Theocharis 1955, 286, 292, fig. Γ1), and one from a building at Kephisos in Aegaleo (Asimakou this volume), constitute a group of eight figurines of the spatula and spade types found in Attica. If we add two more examples supposedly found at Marathon (Petrakos 1995, 126; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 53), then we have a total of ten figurines. Only four figurines of these types have been found outside Attica. It should be noted that figurine 9 from Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959, 100–01, fig. 163.9), which is a late stage in the development of the spatula or spade type, is classified in the Apeiranthos type (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 54; Kostanti & Christopoulou this volume).

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I would like to thank my dear friend Peggy Sotirakopoulou for fruitful discussion and comments on this paper, as well as her visits to the site of the excavations at Asteria. For the same reasons, I would also like to thank my friend Alexandra Iliaki. Finally, I am grateful to Eleni Asimakou for sharing with me information on the new figurine from Aegaleo. The photos of the figurines and vases are by L. Valsamis. The drawings of figurines 4 and 5 and vase in Figure 12.16 are by F. Mavridou and the remaining drawings are by B. Konnemann. I warmly thank them all.

Appendix: the bioarchaeological context of the Asteria figurines

Eleanna Prevedorou

The aim of this study is to present in brief the preliminary results of the bioarchaeological analysis of the human skeletal remains from the Early Helladic cemetery of Asteria in Glyfada, focusing upon the assemblages of graves 11 and 16 that contained marble figurines. To date, eight graves have been excavated, representing approximately one third of the total of 23 graves that are presently exposed. The graves were used collectively for multiple individuals. In several cases, the skeleton of the latest inhumation was found *in situ*, lying on his or her side, in a contracted position, while the bones of the earlier burials were collected near the walls of the chambers. The crania were often placed with care on top of the bone piles, while arrangements of postcranial elements, mainly long bones and pelves in groups, were also observed. Based on excavation notes and estimations, the eight graves contained the remains of at least 75 individuals in total. However, according to the preliminary bioarchaeological results, the excavated graves of the Asteria cemetery contained a minimum number of 117 individuals. As a result, the Asteria cemetery constitutes the second largest osteological assemblage in Early Helladic Attica, after the Tsepi cemetery at Marathon (Prevedorou & Stojanowski 2017; Prevedorou in press).

Grave 11 contained the skeletal remains of at least eleven individuals, all young juveniles ranging from perinates to young children. At least three neonates were identified, while the oldest child was approximately 7 years old (± 2 years). The age-at-death of juveniles was estimated following standard methodologies using dental development and metric observations (Buikstra & Ubelaker 1994; Fazekas & Kósa 1978; Scheuer & Black 2000). The skeletal assemblage of grave 11 was commingled and fragmentary and consisted mainly of cranial elements, mandibles, and long bones. No complete skeleton was identified. This suggests that grave 11 was used only for the secondary burials of young juveniles. Based also on its small size, it is further possible that grave 11 was used as a peripheral chamber of an adjoining grave that remains unexcavated. In addition to the figurine and the ceramics recovered in grave 11, the assemblage also contained faunal skeletal remains, including scapular fragments of pigs (*Sus scrofa*), and several sea shells, both intact and fragmentary.

Grave 16 contained the skeletal remains of a minimum of 27 individuals, the result of multiple, successive inhumations. The remains of the earlier burials formed a pile at the northern side of the tomb; the crania of eight individuals

were placed on top of the pile. The skeleton of the last interment was recovered *in situ* at the eastern side of the chamber. It belongs to a male individual of approximately 41–50 years old. The skeleton was placed on the right side, in a contracted position with arms and legs tightly flexed. The thorax was facing downward, while the skull was turned over the left shoulder, facing to the north and away from the sea. The palms were in contact at the neck area. The skeleton of the last interment was placed on top of the articulated legs of earlier burials. The construction of Grave 16 exhibits peculiarities; it seems that it was originally a workshop trench that was later remodelled for funerary use. The position of the skeleton in combination with the tomb architecture suggest that the placement of the deceased took place from the top of the chamber, and not through an entrance shaft as was often the case (e.g. grave 14). The grave also contained the remains of at least four young juveniles: a neonate, two young children approximately between 3–5 years old and an older child of approximately 8 years old. The partially disturbed skeleton of one of the infants was recovered right on top of the *in situ* skeleton. The first figurine from grave 16 was found next to a marble bowl at a niche in the northeastern corner of the tomb, under an arrangement of cranial and postcranial elements. The second figurine was recovered on the floor at the northwestern corner of the chamber, in close proximity to a cattle incisor (*Bos taurus*). The recovery of both figurines in the lowermost layers of the tomb underneath the skeletal remains of the pile collected along the northern side of the tomb may suggest that they were associated with the earlier burials that took place in the grave.

This preliminary presentation of the bioarchaeological context of the figurines from the Asteria graves provides us with some stimulating observations to be further examined, particularly the presence of juvenile remains, as well as faunal elements. The skeletal assemblage of grave 16, despite the grave's remodelling, is characteristic of the Early Helladic Attic graves with collective, successive primary burials of both adult and juvenile individuals (Prevedorou & Stojanowski 2017; Prevedorou forthcoming). Grave 11, however, presents us with an unusual picture, wherein the figurine was found clearly in association with the secondary burials of young juvenile remains. At the Early Helladic cemetery of Tsepi in Marathon, which constitutes the closest parallel to Asteria, two figurines were recovered from grave contexts, specifically from graves 10 and 19, and were again found in the lowest layers of the burial chambers (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 82, 136, 323). During the bioarchaeological analysis of the graves from Tsepi, the remains of young juvenile individuals were also identified. In particular, grave 10 from Tsepi contained the remains of a minimum of 30 individuals including a perinate, an infant of approximately 6 months old, and

two children of approximately 7–8 years old. Grave 19 from Tsepi contained the remains of a minimum of 14 individuals including a perinate, an infant of approximately 6–12 months old, and two children of approximately 4–5 years old. In addition, grave 10 at Tsepi also contained faunal remains, including pig scapulae (*Sus scrofa*), as was the case for grave 11 at the Asteria cemetery. On the other hand, at the cemetery of Aghios Kosmas in Attica, the two graves that contained figurines (graves 5 and 8: Mylonas 1959, 80–1, 88–9) did not include juvenile remains according to Angel (1959, 169), even though Mylonas (1959, 117) reported both child and adult bones for grave 8. Overall, the burial context of the Asteria figurines supports their association with burials of young juveniles and opens up new avenues of research for their interpretation. As a result, the excavation and interdisciplinary analysis of the Asteria cemetery contributes significantly not only to the reinterpretation of the Early Helladic funerary landscape of Attica, but also to our understanding of the mortuary practices and social dynamics of the Aegean Early Bronze Age.

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Peloponnese

EARLY CYCLADIC SCULPTURE FROM DELPRIZA IN THE SOUTHERN ARGOLID

Angeliki Kossyva

During a rescue excavation conducted by the 4th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (today the Ephorate of Antiquities in Argolid) in the area of Delpriza (Fig. 13.1), east-northeast of the village of Koilada, two Early Helladic sites were revealed.

THE BOSTANI SITE

The Bostani site extends over the eastern slope of a low hill, 700 m east of Koilada Bay and about 2500 m south-south east of the Franchthi cave.

The area covers about 2680 m² and it has no clear evidence of building remains. However, it includes at least two elongated configurations and irregular accumulations, made of soil and unworked smaller and larger stones. The elongated configurations seem to be a kind of terrain levelling, which formed steps in these places. The accumulations often cover irregular pits of various sizes, hearths inside hollows which are paved with stones, and roughly made hearths formed of unbaked clay (Fig. 13.2). In general, the Bostani site seems to have consisted of rough constructions, possibly wooden huts, as the existence of holes in the ground may imply the use of posts.

Pottery dates from late Early Helladic I to the earlier part of Early Helladic II (3000–2700 BC). It includes bowls with painted decoration or burnishing, askoi and fruit

stands. There are also many cooking-pots, jars and pithoi (Fig. 13.3). They are mostly vases for everyday use, local products as well as imports. The EH I imported vases come from the Saronic Gulf and the Cyclades whereas during EH II ceramics from the rest of the Argolid and the Corinthia also appear at Bostani (Fig. 13.4).

More common on this site than the pottery are by-products of worked flints and hundreds of sea shells, mainly *Fasciolaridae* and *Cerithiidae* as well as murexes of *Hexaplex trunculus* sp., with traces of processing and boiling (Fig. 13.5).

A curvilinear quadrangular grave of EH I–II date was discovered at the east part of the site (Fig. 13.6). It consisted of an elliptical pit dug in the bedrock with its three sides lined with at least three courses of medium-sized raw limestone boulders. The entrance is on the east side and it had a large stone, as a kind of jamb, at its S end. The external dimensions of the grave were 2 m (east-west) × 1.85 m (north-south), and internal dimensions 1.6 m × 1.4 m. Its depth is 0.6 m. Immediately to the east of the door opening, which had a width of 0.9 m, a kind of *prothyron* was indicated by a shallow formation in the bedrock (its dimensions being 1.10 m × 0.65 m); this was located approximately 0.09 m above the lowest point of the grave's floor. We have no evidence for the grave's superstructure because it was found only 0.3 m below the present surface, in an intensively cultivated area.



Figure 13.1 Map of the Southern Argolid.



Figure 13.2 Delpriza. Excavated area of the Bostani site.



Figure 13.3 Bostani site. Early Helladic pottery.

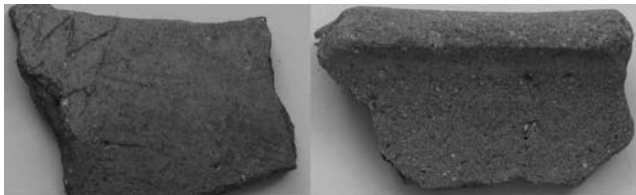


Figure 13.4 Bostani site. Imported Early Helladic pottery.

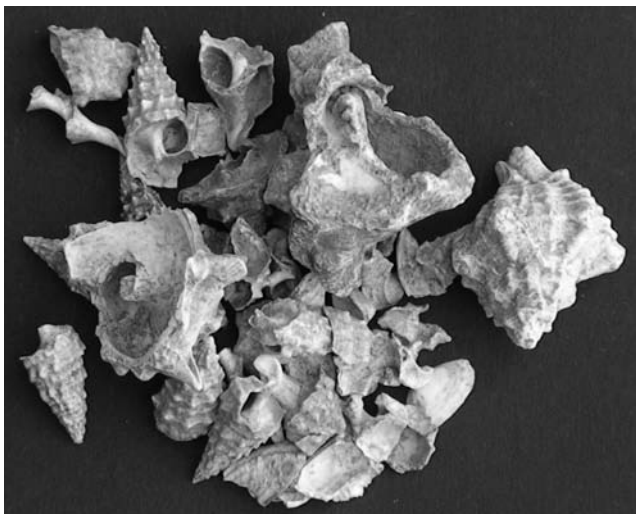


Figure 13.5 Bostani site. Sea shells with traces of processing.

The floor plan of the grave shows a general similarity with the graves of Chalandriani on Syros (Doulas, 1977, 47–9, pls XIII, XXIV), built grave 14 of Aghios Kosmas in Attica (Mylonas, 1959, 93–4, fig. 81, drawing 32) and graves 1 and 2 of Loutsas in Attica (Stathi this volume, Figs 8.2–3).

Piles of human bones and skulls in successive layers were discovered inside the tomb. The upper layers of bones covered the whole grave while the lower ones were confined to its west part, opposite the entrance. The preserved bones showed the dead in a contracted position, whom we can estimate to have been at least 30 people, judging from the number of skulls. We noted that the skulls were placed around the periphery of the tomb and the remaining bones piled in the centre. The dead were

accompanied by obsidian blades, stone beads of various shapes, 10 clay vases and a marble figurine of Cycladic type. The vases (some of which survived intact while others were in a fragmentary state) consisted mainly of spherical pyxides (Fig. 13.7) with cylindrical necks, small lugs or cylindrical, pierced handles and incised decoration. Most of them were hand-made and had dark burnish or red paint. Also found were a pyxis lid and a fragmentary double vase with red paint. The vases date to the Early Helladic I period and have many similarities with Early Cycladic I pottery, mainly with vases of the so-called Kampos group (Rambach 2000, 143–6, 153–61). Their clay is characterised by many quartz inclusions, indicating that they did not originate from the Argolid.

The marble figurine also dates to the Early Cycladic I period (3200–2700 BC). It is 132 mm in height, 41 mm in width and 12 mm in thickness (Fig. 13.8). It has affinities with figurines of the Plastiras group and it renders the human form with some anatomical details: the head has an inclination towards back and it forms the end of a long neck (length 57 mm). The mouth and eyes are indicated by incision. The forearms, which rest on the abdomen, are in low relief without fingers or other details. The separated squat and strong legs end in roughly indicated feet.

Although this figurine does not have exact similarities with other published Cycladic figurines, it recalls a figurine from grave D at Capros, Amorgos (Sherratt 2000, 31, 33–4, pls 5–7) and a bone figurine from tomb 8 at Manika (Sapouna-Sakellarakis this volume, Fig. 19.3). Also, its long neck corresponds to a schematic figurine from grave 19 at Tsepi cemetery (Pantelidou Gofa this volume, Fig. 6.1).

Site 2

Approximately 400 m southwest from the Bostani site, another EH occupation area has been recently discovered, which was conventionally called Site 2. About 1296 m² have been excavated so far. It occupies a low hill, in visual contact with both the Franchthi Cave and the Bostani site.

On the sloping section of this hillock, foundations of buildings with curvilinear walls were uncovered (Fig. 13.9). These buildings were probably houses, but due to their very poor preservation internal demarcation of space cannot be determined, nor whether they had been organised according to a specific plan. The buildings seem to be surrounded or covered by thick layers of small and larger rough stones placed with great care.

Pottery (Fig. 13.10) dates to the late EH I and early EH II periods (3000–2700 BC) and it includes bowls, sauceboats and fruit stands. Cooking and pithos vessels are also numerous. Generally they are daily items with paint or polish and a few with relief or impressed decoration. There



Figure 13.6 Bostani grave. Floor plan of the tomb and view of its interior with finds in situ.



Figure 13.7 Bostani grave. Pyxides A1, A2 and A5.

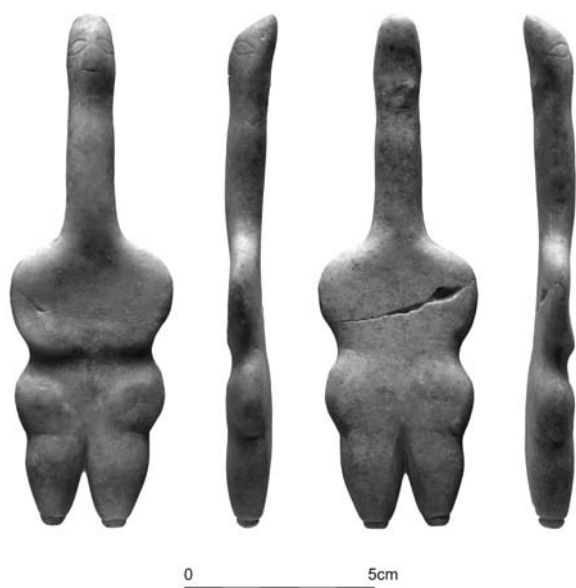


Figure 13.8 Bostani grave. Marble figurine. Scale 1:2.

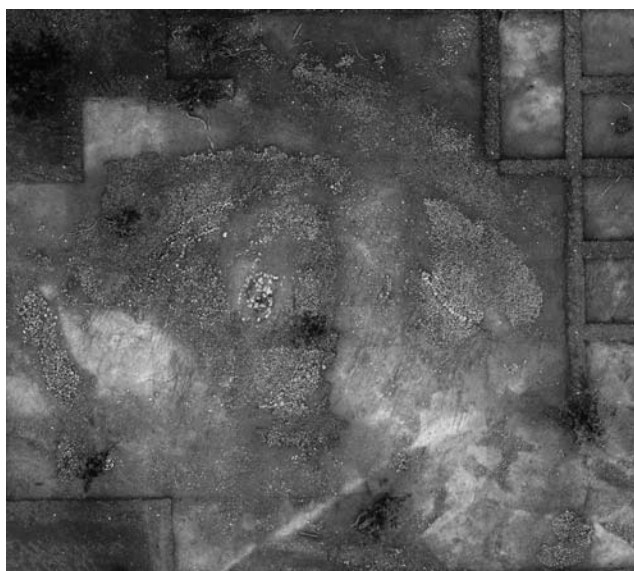


Figure 13.9 Delpriza. Aerial view of Site 2.



Figure 13.10 Site 2. Early Helladic pottery.



Figure 13.11 Site 2, tomb. Floor plan of the tomb and view of its interior with finds in situ.

are many flint cores with clear indications of processing; on the other hand sea shells are few: *Fasciolaridae*, *Cerithiidae* and *Hexaplex trunculus* sp., well-known from Bostani.

At the highest point of the hill, a pit tomb with built walls has been identified (Fig. 13.11). It has a side entrance and a *prothyron*, and it is surrounded by an elliptical enclosure. This enclosure has maximum dimensions of

5.5 m × 2.5 m and it is formed by small, roughly hewn stones. The *prothyron* is found to the western side of the pit and it is 1.8 m in length. It is relatively shallow and its floor is 0.4 m higher than the bottom of the pit. The entrance of the tomb is also located on the western side of the pit. It is trapezoidal in shape with a height of 0.42 m and maximum length of 0.32 m. It consists of three limestone



Figure 13.12 Site 2, tomb. Obsidian blades.



Figure 13.13 Site 2, tomb. Silver rings.

slabs forming the lintel and the jambs respectively. From the side of the *prothyron* the entrance has been sealed with rough stones and soil.

The pit is circular (diameter 1.1 m and depth 0.6 m). Its floor consists of the soft natural bedrock while its walls are built of medium-sized limestone rocks in the four lower layers. In the upper layer, the edge of the walls is formed by larger, almost flat, stones. On the cover of the pit, which included large rough stones, a stone mortar was placed upside down, apparently in a secondary use.

Inside the tomb 23 skulls and bones were identified in at least four layers. The skulls were placed in the periphery of the pit, and the bones were found both with the skulls and scattered throughout the area of the tomb. It is worth noting that in the higher layers bones were found in the entire extent while in the lower layer bones were concentrated in the eastern half of the pit, opposite the entrance of the tomb. The dead in the two lower layers were accompanied by 11 obsidian blades (Fig. 13.12), one silver bead, two silver rings (Fig. 13.13), 10 clay vases, a marble bowl, two marble pestles and three marble figurines. The vases, some intact and others fragmentary, include five spherical pyxides (Fig. 13.14) with cylindrical necks, small knobs or tubular perforated handles, and incised decoration, along with two bowls (Fig. 13.15), one pedestalled deep bowl (Fig. 13.16), a frying pan with impressed decoration (Fig. 13.17) and a jar with high neck and squat body (Fig. 13.18).

The silver rings have a very similar shape to rings from Aplomata in Naxos (Rambach 2000, 92–3) and from Manika (Sampson 1988, 32 & fig. 118). The frying pan (A9) has exact parallels in shape and decoration with vases from Ano Kouphonisi (Zaphiropoulou 1984, 37 & fig. 3c), from grave 7

at Aghios Kosmas in Attica (Mylonas 1959, fig. 146 no. 195) and from grave 9 at Tsepi Marathon (Marinatos 1970, 350, fig. 4). These vases are attributed to the Kampos group and they date to the transition from EC I to EC II. The shape of the jar A10 (Fig. 13.18) is similar to an amphoriskos from grave 7 in the Tsepi cemetery (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 68, pl. 8–1).

Figurine E1 (Fig. 13.19) is of the same type as the figurine from the Bostani site, but a little smaller (height 120 mm) and with different proportions. So, while its neck is of the same height as the Bostani figurine, the torso and legs are wider, giving the impression of a squat figure. Unfortunately, due to its poor preservation, facial features or anatomical details cannot be recognised apart from the indication of the hands resting on the abdomen. Traces of red paint are visible on the front side on the right thigh and on the back on the neck and the left part of the torso. Possible traces of black paint are noticeable also on the left side of the abdomen.

Although the representation of the figure is very schematic and it is only 60 mm in height, figurine E3 (Fig. 13.20) seems to belong to the same type. The forearms rest on the abdomen, shown in relief, while the neck is tall in comparison to its torso and legs.

Finally, figurine E2 (Fig. 13.21) is headless with a hole through the neck. Again the body is squat with separated limbs, while the thighs and the forearms on the abdomen are depicted in relief. The neck, however, is not as cylindrical as on the other two figurines.

In addition, an important find is the marble bowl (Fig. 13.22) with a horizontal handle under its rim and traces of red colour at various points inside and outside. Traces of red paint are also preserved on the larger of the two cylindrical marble pestles (Fig. 13.23).



Figure 13.14 Site 2, tomb. Pyxides A1, A4, A7, A8 and A2.

Life and death at Delpriza during the Early Helladic period

A comparison of the tombs in the two neighbouring sites offers some useful observations. At both sites the graves are placed within the borders of the inhabited area, although the Site 2 grave is placed prominently at the top of the low hill while the Bostani tomb is probably in a less-prominent position. Both tombs are built pit graves. The Bostani tomb has a simpler architectural form, includes more dead (30

people) but poorer offerings, with the exception of the unique marble figurine of exceptional quality. The tomb at Site 2 is of a more elaborate and complex construction with a built entrance. It contained fewer individuals (23 persons), but richer grave goods (marble vessels and figurines as well as silver jewellery), and the pottery presents a variety of shapes.

Both tombs exude an intense Cycladic spirit. The clay vases and the marble figurines are of Cycladic type. The thin, elongated obsidian blades, the source material derived



Figure 13.15 Site 2, tomb. Bowls A3 and A5.



Figure 13.16 Site 2, tomb. Pedestalled deep bowl A11.

from Melos, are of the characteristic type found in Cycladic burials. It becomes tempting therefore to assume that members of two groups of Cycladic origin or provenance could have been buried in these graves. This hypothesis may be bolstered by the results of the laboratory analyses of the clay and marble origin, currently underway at NCSR Demokritos in Athens; the skeletal material is being examined at the University of Manchester.



Figure 13.17 Site 2, tomb. Frying pan A9.



Figure 13.18 Site 2, tomb. Jar A10.

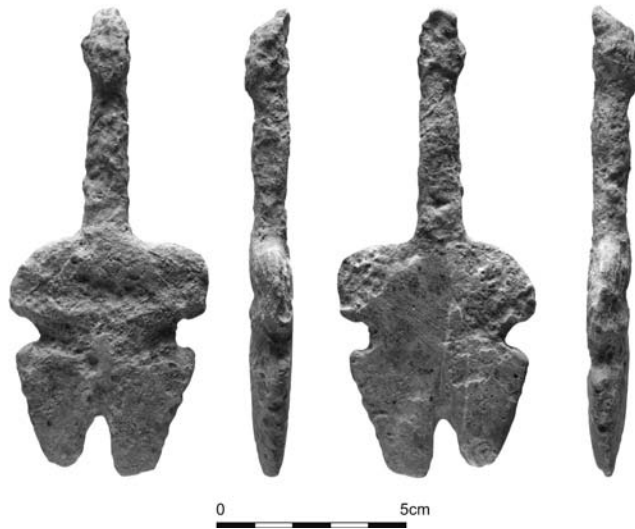


Figure 13.19 Site 2, tomb. Marble figurine E1. Scale 1:2.



Figure 13.20 Site 2, tomb. Marble figurine E3. Scale 1:2.



Figure 13.21 Site 2, tomb. Marble figurine E2. Scale 1:2.

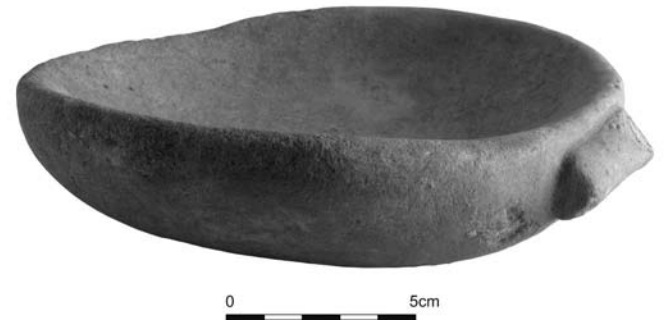


Figure 13.22 Site 2, tomb. Marble bowl A6. Scale 1:2.



Figure 13.23 Site 2, tomb. Marble pestles. Scale 1:2.

Given the evidence so far, is not unlikely that a colony of people from the Cyclades during the EH I–II period could have existed in the wider area of the Franchthi cave, a place well-known to the inhabitants of the Aegean islands from very early times (Renfrew & Aspinall 1990, 257–70). Close contacts or even habitation of people from the Cyclades are known on the coasts of Attica (Kaza-Papageorgiou

2006; Pantelidou Gofa 2005; Theodoraki 1980, 82–3), Euboea (Sampson 1988, 115–17) and Crete (Davaras & Betancourt 2004; Davaras & Betancourt 2012; Day *et al.* 1998) during the same period.

It is also reasonable to wonder why local communities might choose as grave offerings objects exclusively of another culture, instead of accompanying their dead with

objects of more familiar symbolism. In contrast, at the cemeteries of Attica and Euboea, such as Tsepi and Manika, Cycladic objects are found inside tombs together with local EH vases (Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 338–9; Sampson 1988, 44).

Chronologically the two graves, based on their finds, appear to differ slightly, as the Bostani grave belongs to the transition from EH I to EH II but the Site 2 tomb appears to belong to the early EH II period.

Also, the tombs' architecture and contents vary and seem to indicate the different social status of their tenants. So silver jewellery and marble vessels suggest that the inhabitants of Site 2 have the wherewithal to obtain objects of precious materials, which highlights their social superiority over the inhabitants of Bostani.

At Bostani it seems there lived and was buried a group of people whose main activity was the industrial exploitation of sea shells, probably for producing red pigment. At Site 2, the inhabitants' greater economic prosperity probably comes from the control of natural resources in the region and perhaps the distribution of the red pigment produced by the Bostani inhabitants.

Burial customs at both sites reveal a preference for reuse of the same tomb by a group of people who are members of the same community or family and came to be buried near the place where they were lived. The items deposited include the same categories of objects (vases, figurines, jewellery, obsidian blades) despite the difference in their material of manufacture or their numbers, due to the difference of social status of the dead: for example, in the Bostani grave, stone beads are used as jewellery, while in the Site 2 tomb the jewellery is silver. The material in the latter tomb includes marble vessels and three figurines, compared with the single marble figurine in the Bostani tomb.

On the other hand, we are not sure whether the use of colour in the marble vessels and figurine in the 'richer' tomb of Site 2 relates to the connotation of a higher social status of the residents, indicates diversification of the burial customs, or is due simply to a lack of preservation of colour on the Bostani figurine.

In conclusion, these tombs are the only excavated testimony so far on how two groups of people of the EH I and EH II periods are buried from the whole southern Argolid, despite the extensive evidence of early human habitation in the area (Jameson *et al.* 1994, 348–60, fig. 6.10). Isolated EH burials are known in the rest of the Argolid: at Argos, Lerna, Tiryns, Asine and Epidauros (Alram-Stern 2004, 586–633).

Moreover, only three other Cycladic figurines are known from the Early Helladic Argolid. They come from settlement contexts at Palaia Epidauros (Proskinitopoulou 2011, 148) and Ano Epidauros (Piteros this volume) or from the hill of the Apollo Maleatas sanctuary (Lambrinoudakis this volume).

The unexpected finds in Ermionida are certainly welcome. The location of the graves in the environment of these non-urban habitations of the Early Bronze Age enriches our knowledge about the activities of the local people, their contacts with other regions mainly through the sea routes, and allows us to trace their metaphysical concerns and the social differentiation between groups.

However, they also give rise to a number of questions. Was the occupation and exploitation of nearby sites successive or parallel? Were the persons buried in the two graves indigenous or foreigners? Who were, in reality, the dead of Site 2, buried with numerous pots of good quality, drawing attention to their prosperity by withdrawing marble figurines and other valuables from circulation? What are the origins of the marble figurines, given that they differ qualitatively and quantitatively between the two sites? Were both tombs intended for collective burial or were they initially constructed to accept one person and then served as a place for the secondary collection of the dead who were initially buried elsewhere?

Some questions may never be answered but others will be clear after the completion of the excavation, the progress of the study of the material and the results of interdisciplinary co-operation.

Catalogue of figurines

1. Bostani grave. MN33212. Marble figurine (Fig. 13.8).

White marble, fine grained

Maximum height 132 mm; maximum width 41 mm; maximum thickness 12 mm; height of neck and head 57 mm.

Standing figurine with separated short legs which end in cylindrical protuberances. Long neck. Head inclined backwards. Arms folded on the abdomen. Eyes and mouth incised. It shows features of the Plastiras group. During the excavation it was broken in two pieces.

2. Tomb of Site 2. MN33200. Marble figurine E1 (Fig. 13.19).

White marble, very eroded

Maximum height 121 mm; maximum width 52 mm; maximum thickness 12 mm; height of neck and head 60 mm.

Standing figurine with separated short legs. Long neck. Head lightly inclined backwards. Arms folded on the abdomen. Traces of red colour are visible on the front side on the right thigh and on the back on the neck and the torso's left side. Traces of possible black paint are indicated on the left side of the abdomen. Owing to the erosion facial features cannot be detected. It seems to belong to the same type as the Bostani figurine.

3. Tomb of Site 2. MN33201. Marble figurine E2 (Fig. 13.21).

White marble, eroded.

Maximum height 64 mm; maximum width 46 mm; maximum thickness 11 mm.

Standing figurine with separated short legs. Arms folded on the abdomen. Broken at the neck, which has been pierced by a hole. The head is missing.

4. *Tomb of Site 2. MN33202. Marble figurine E3* (Fig. 13.20).

White marble, eroded; maximum height 66 mm; maximum width 39 mm; maximum thickness 9 mm; height of neck and head 27 mm.

Standing figurine with separated short legs. Long neck. Head inclined backwards. Arms folded on the abdomen. Owing to the erosion facial features cannot be detected. Figurines E2 and E3 are generally squat.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my thanks to the organisers of the symposium for inviting me to present the Cycladic figurines from Delpriza in the Southern Argolid and to Dr Alcestis Papadimitriou, Director of the Ephoreia of the Antiquities of the Argolid for her support. I would also like to thank the conservators Costas Vasiliadis of the Acropolis Museum and Pinelopi Taratori of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolid for their care of the objects. The material presented in this paper was photographed by K. Xenikakis and the author.

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CYCLADIC FIGURINE FROM THE SANCTUARY OF APOLLO MALEATAS IN EPIDAURIA

Vassilis Lambrinoudakis

Part of a small Cycladic marble figurine (Fig. 14.1) was found in layers belonging to the Mycenaean predecessor of the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, itself predecessor and later part of the famous Epidaurian Asklepieion (Lambrinoudakis 1981a; Theodorou-Mavrommatidi 2003). Christos Piteros mentions the figurine in his overview of similar finds in ancient Epidauria (Piteros this volume). Preserved is the head of the figure and the greater part of a rather long neck, broken aslant from the rear side to the front. The fragment is 50 mm high; the head is oval in shape, tilted upwards and backwards. Its maximum width measures 25 mm. The nose is rendered as a smoothly rising ridge; the chin is defined by a rather sharp contour. The preservation is good: only a small flake at the lower part of the nose is missing. The lack of details, as well as the convex and clumsy profile of the head, classes it with the



Figure 14.1 Head and neck of Cycladic marble figurine found in the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros. Scale 1:2.

early canonical Kapsala type of Early Cycladic II figurines. The comparison with examples of this group from Naxos (Fig. 14.2; Doulas & Lambrinoudakis 2017, fig. 15.11) or of other Cycladic provenance (Getz-Gentle 2001), is eloquent.

More important than the figurine itself are the circumstances under which the fragment found its way into the fill of the Mycenaean sanctuary. In order to explore this issue, a brief review of the history of the site will be necessary. A small settlement developed during the Early Helladic period on the top of the Kynortion Hill overlooking the plain where later the Sanctuary of Asklepios flourished (Lambrinoudakis 2016, 5–8). Only poor traces of buildings survive from its early phase (Fig. 14.3), but three individual burials were preserved intact under a small pile of stones. Two of the dead were male (Fig. 14.4). One of them was buried without objects. The second was buried with a pebble tool in his palm, a clay whorl on the chest and an obsidian blade in front of the face, while two grinding tools were placed close to his head outside the grave. The third grave belonged to a young woman; she was buried wearing a copper pin to hold the cloth on her shoulder, and with a pendant around her neck.

Better preserved are the remains of the Early Helladic II period of the settlement. An earlier phase consists of buildings with rectangular rooms, a later one of five apsidal buildings built in pairs around a court, and a third one again with rectangular rooms. A small section of an Early

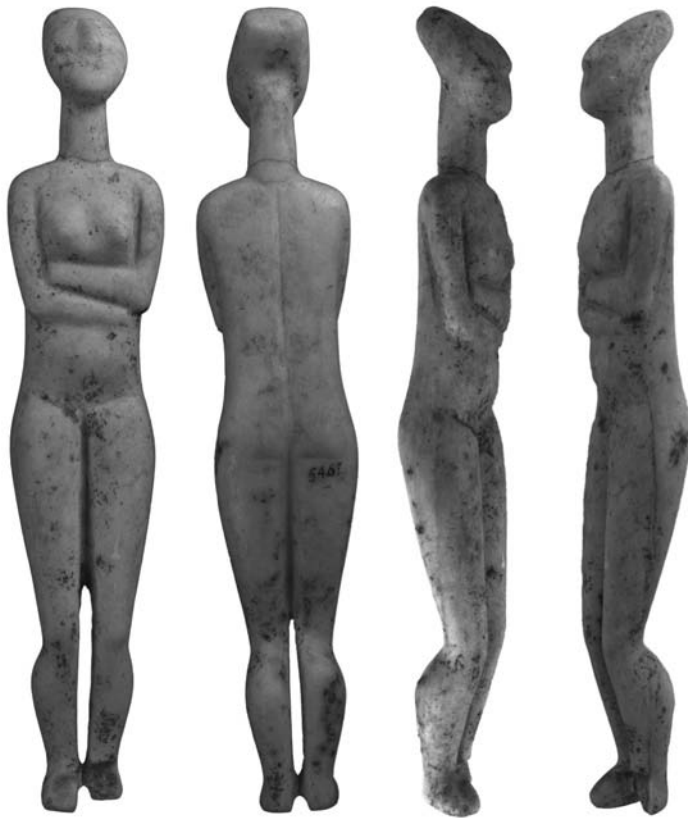


Figure 14.2 Cycladic figurine from Aplomata, Naxos. Scale 1:2.

Helladic wall preserved near the Classical temple of Apollo shows that constructions of the period existed also in the area occupied later by the Mycenaean sanctuary.

The settlement was abandoned at the end of the Early Helladic II period for unknown reasons. In subsequent periods nothing was built on the top of the hill. In Middle Helladic times people who remembered the history of the site, and felt it as *their* history, dug a large deep pit in the middle of the abandoned ruins (Fig. 14.5) and performed a ritual there on repeated occasions, as shown by abundant stratified material, mainly drinking vessels, bones and ashes in the pit, and a brazier outside of it. This activity points to a veneration of forefathers by a community scattered in small settlements in the wider area of central Epidauria, and presumably represents the beginnings of cult activity on Mount Kynortion. When the Mycenaean sanctuary developed on the north slope of the hill, the area at the top with the Early Helladic ruins was deliberately left free of buildings and it seems that it was respected and venerated as the place of origin of the cult. The Early Helladic ruins, along with the tombs, became the mythical residence and sepulchre of Malos and his wife, the Muse Erato, whose grandchild was Koronis, beloved by Apollo and mother of Asklepios. The story of the heroic ancestry of the Epidaurians was told in a hymn composed in the early 3rd century BC by the poet Isyllos and engraved on a stele in the Sanctuary of Asklepios (Sineux 1999). At that time

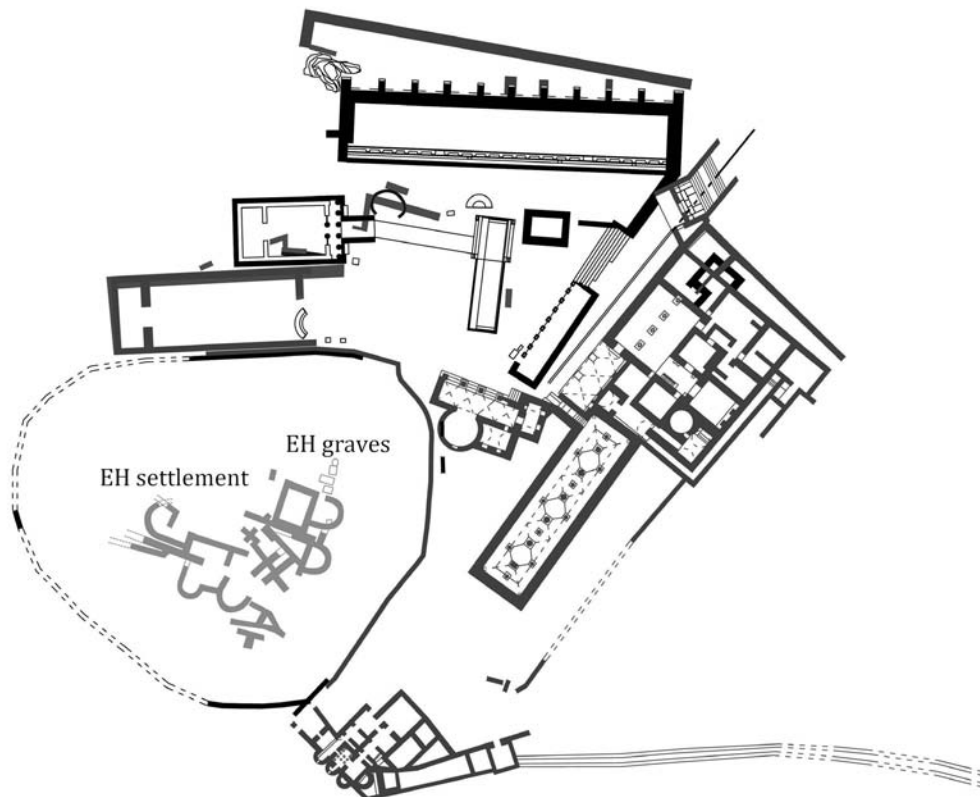


Figure 14.3 Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros. Grey: Prehistoric. Black: Classical. Dark grey: Roman.

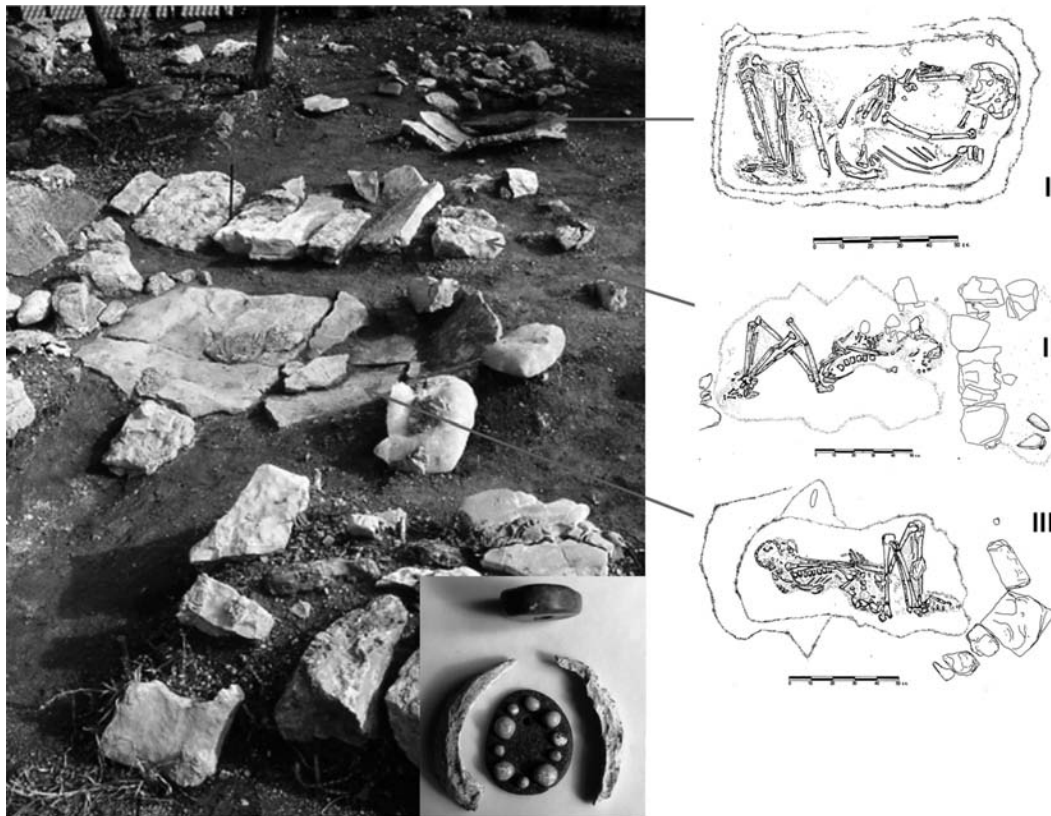


Figure 14.4 EH I burials on the Kynortion Hill.

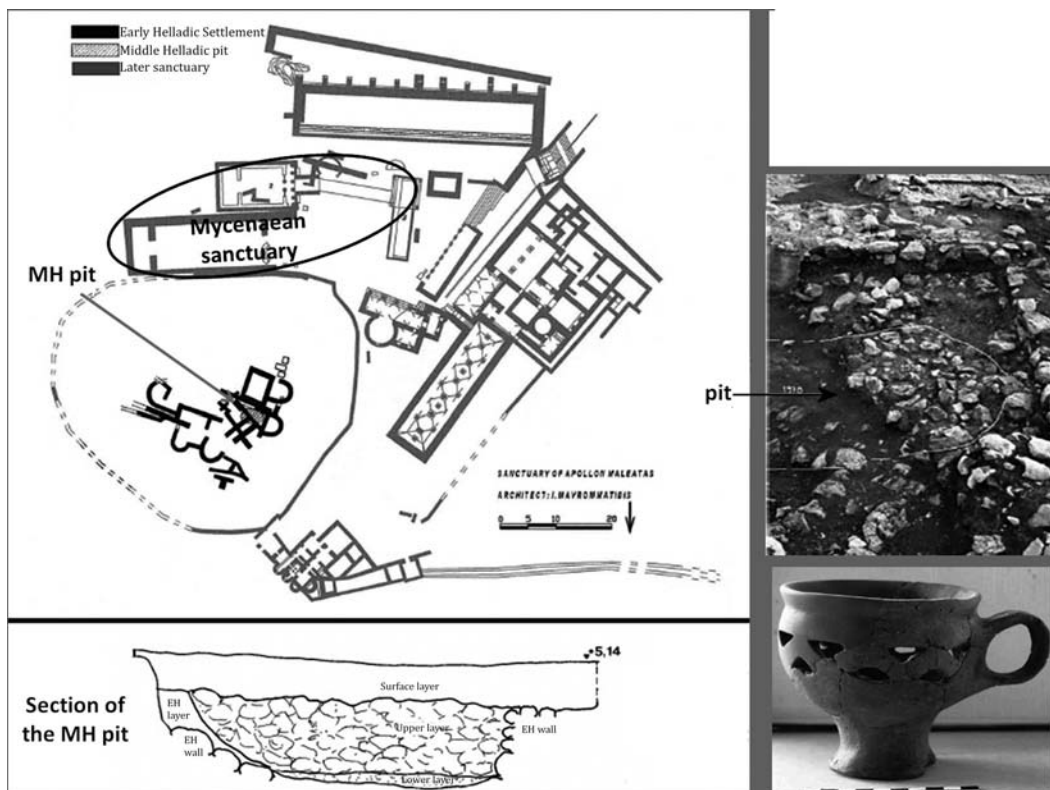


Figure 14.5 MH ritual pit in the ruins of the EH settlement on the Kynortion hill; brazier found next to the pit shown bottom right.

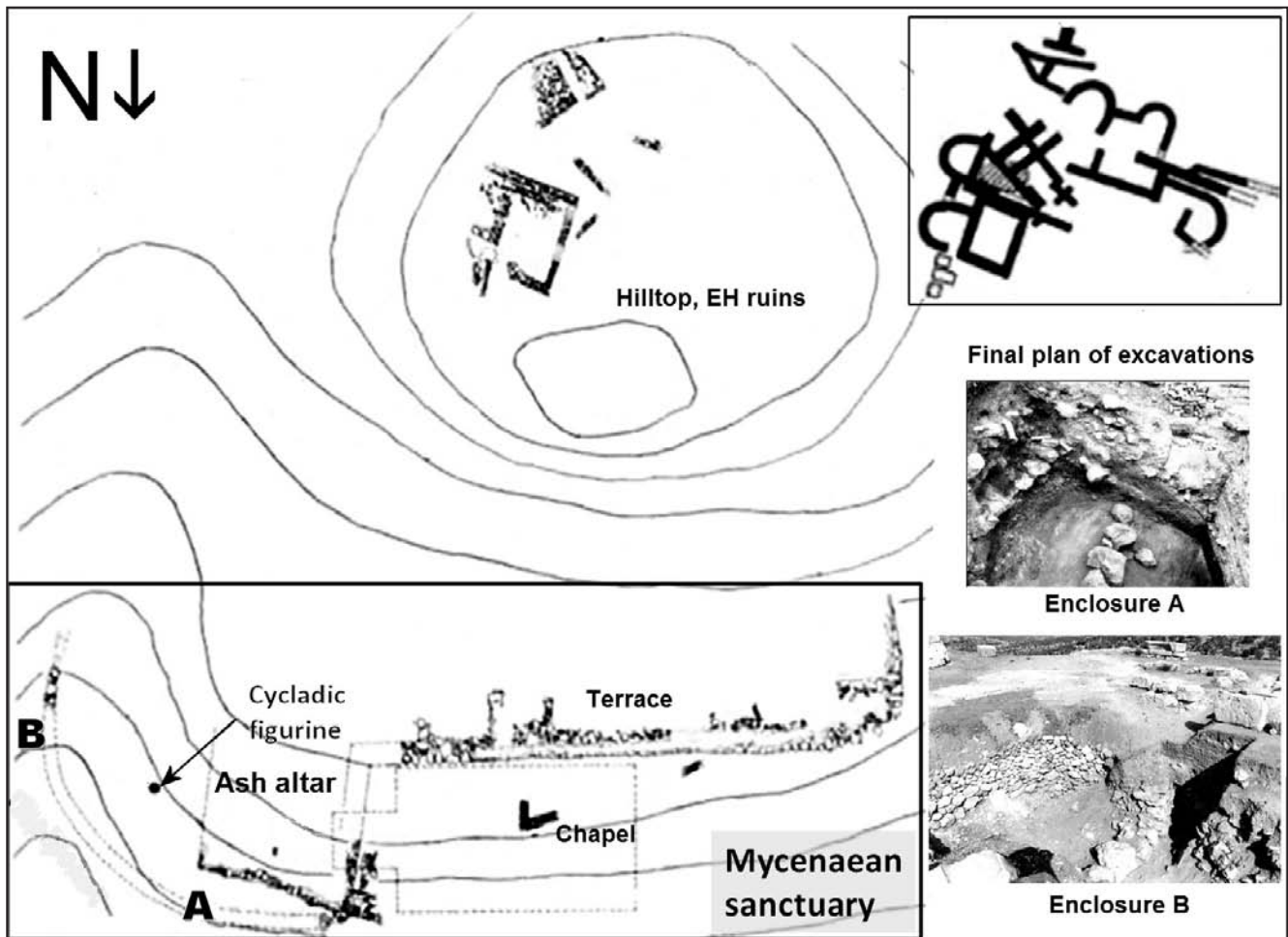


Figure 14.6 Findspot of the Cycladic figurine in the Mycenaean layers under the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas.

the top of the hill was surrounded by a strong enclosure wall, presumably without an entrance, renewed in Roman times. Perhaps an early enclosure, which perished under the later constructions, had already defined the place as an abaton in Mycenaean times.

Let us now return to the Cycladic figurine. The Mycenaean sanctuary (Fig. 14.6; Lambrinoudakis 1981b, 158–60; Theodorou-Mavrommatidi 2003) consisted of an ash altar for blood sacrifices at the brow of the steep north slope of the hill, of a large terrace to its west, serving ritual meals at the altar, and of a small chapel on a lower level west of the altar. A sketch representing these constructions gives an idea of the setting of the sanctuary (Fig. 14.7). At that time the relief of the terrain was different from what we see today, which is the result of levelling done in Classical times in order to make room for the monumental altar of Asklepios and the precinct of the Muses, and of later constructions, such as the big cistern and the Nymphaeum to the east and northeast of the top of the hill. Before the levelling a small hollow existed between the eastern side of

the hill and the mass of the heights rising to the northeast. Parts of a curved enclosure or retaining wall defining the limits of the Mycenaean sanctuary were excavated to the north at the base of the altar (Fig. 14.6, A) and to the east in the base of the hollow (Fig. 14.6, B).

It is in this corner of the Mycenaean sanctuary, inside its enclosure, that the Cycladic figurine was found (Fig. 14.6). The excavation revealed, under the ground surface created by the levelling of the Classical period, two layers (Fig. 14.8; Lambrinoudakis 1981b, 158–60): the lower one was thick and contained stones of a size and form comparable with those used in the Early Helladic and Mycenaean buildings, mixed with ash from the Mycenaean altar and abundant, fairly well-preserved offerings thrown in it during the cult activity of that period in the sanctuary. The upper layer was thinner, and contained only smaller stones without ashes. This context is best explained if one accepts that continuous cleaning and perhaps early levelling activities swept the archaic material of the ash altar to the north slope, where it was found during excavation, while the

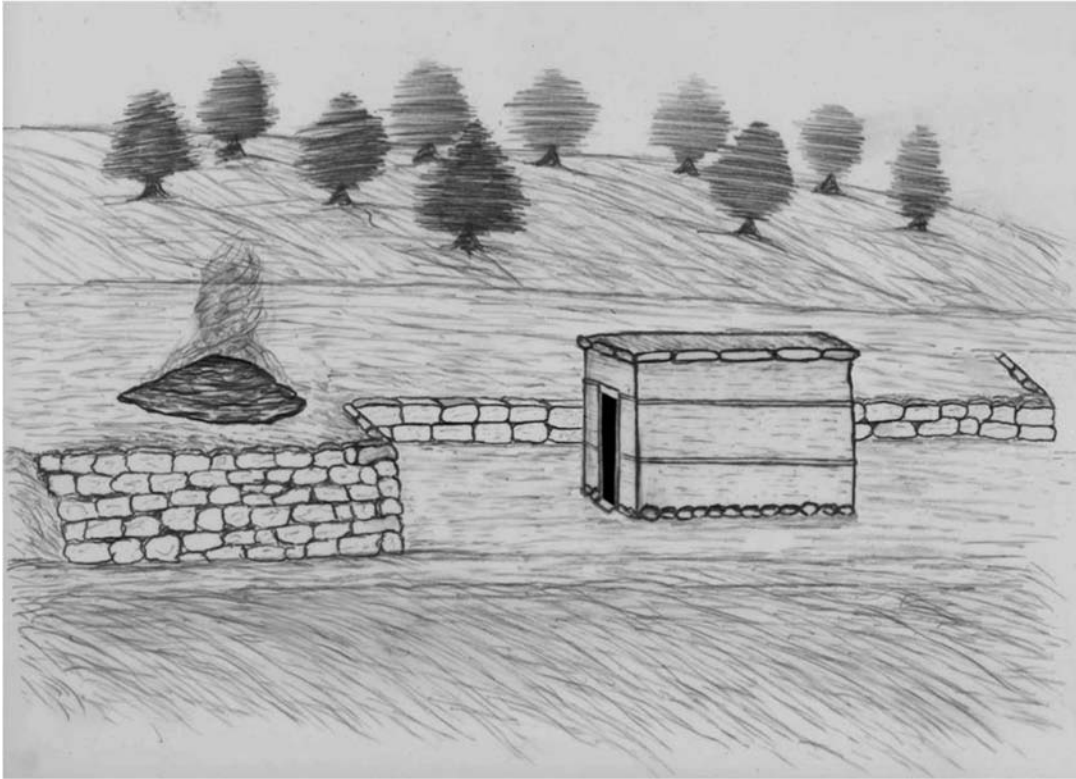


Figure 14.7 Drawing of the terrace, the ash altar and the shrine in the Mycenaean sanctuary on the Kynortion hill.

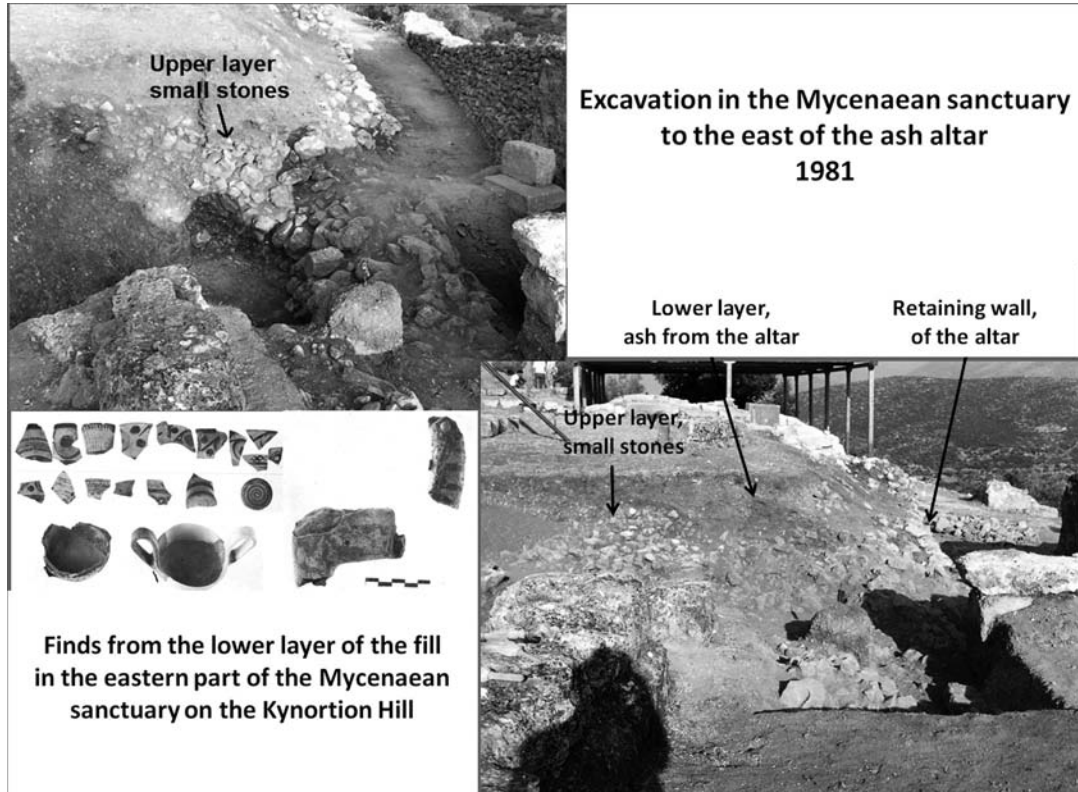


Figure 14.8 Excavation in the Mycenaean layers under the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas.



Figure 14.9 Cycladic frying pan found in the fill of the Mycenaean ash altar.

Classical levelling removed the lowest layers of the altar, which were purely Mycenaean, together with remnants of Early Helladic constructions under or near them, in order to fill the depression of the hollow. The upper, thinner layer would then be the result of the same levelling, which went deeper and erased part of the native soft rock containing small stones and, perhaps, foundations of earlier constructions.

The figurine was found in the ashes of the lower layer. The layer produced a few Early and Middle Helladic sherds, but the ashes contained, as expected, mainly fragments of fine Mycenaean pottery, of clay figurines, of stone vases and of bronze double axes.

One can speculate over two possibilities as to how the head of an Early Cycladic figurine reached this environment: the first possibility is that the figurine reached the EH settlement on the Maleatas hill intact; it was then broken during the later upheavals of the site, and its head alone, together with Early Helladic debris, infiltrated the fill at the Mycenaean ash altar. The finds of Cycladic figurines in neighbouring Early Helladic settlements, such as Katarachi and Kolloti Hill presented by Christos Piteros (this volume), enhance this possibility. Connections of the Early Helladic Maleatas settlement with the Cyclades are attested by fragments of 'frying pans' found in its ruins (Theodorou-Mavrommatidi 2004, pl. 6, a5–6). The figurine is dated to the Early Cycladic II period, which coincides with the full floruit of the settlement during its Early Helladic II phase. A nice piece of a Cycladic frying pan (Fig. 14.9) was included in the finds made in the 1950s in the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas by J. Papadimitriou (Museum of Epidauros, unpublished). Although these finds reached us without any indications of the exact place in which they were found, it

is pretty certain that they come from the products of the Mycenaean or later ash altar, as the excavator explored only a part of the fill in front of the western end of the large Hellenistic retaining wall, above which lay the altar. The provenance of this fragment corroborates the argument of dispersion and infiltration of Early Helladic material from the settlement into Mycenaean layers.

However, a second possibility cannot easily be disregarded. The head could have been deposited in the ashes of the altar as a pious offering by a visitor to the Mycenaean sanctuary. The visitor might have found it accidentally in the area or at a disturbed burial in Epidauria, such as those mentioned by Angeliki Kossyva (this volume), or inherited it as heirloom from an ancestor who had found it earlier. The fact that it was found embedded in the burnt material of the altar, the good condition of its preservation, and the rare survival of the head instead of parts of the body (noticed by Piteros, this volume), perhaps connected with a symbolic power of the head, are good arguments for this second possibility. A similar case would be the Cycladic figurine found in the Late Protogeometric tomb presented by Evangelia Pappi (this volume). Concerning this second possibility in the case of Maleatas, one is inclined to interpret the head as an offering of a prestige object to the deity or even as a pious return of a vague image of venerable ancestors to the sacred place where the life of the community started.

The excavation data do not allow as to decide in favour of one or the other of the two possibilities. The area of the Mycenaean sanctuary is fully excavated. The southwestern periphery of the hilltop with the Early Helladic remains is not yet fully investigated; perhaps further excavation there can shed more light on the history of the site.

This brief presentation owes much to a fruitful discussion with Christos Doumas on the subject. I thank him cordially for his expert remarks and suggestions.

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A CYCLADIC FIGURINE FROM UPPER EPIDAUROS

Christos Piteros

In 1994 a small-scale excavation was conducted in Upper Epidauros, located 3 km west of the ancient city of Epidauros. The excavation took place in the property of the Pappas brothers, located at the top of the low hill of Koloti, 67 m above the small valley of Upper Epidauros, near a stream, on the old highway leading from the ancient city and port to the mainland.

Five trenches measuring 4 m × 4 m, and 4 m × 3 m were opened. At only a little depth (0–0.40 m) building foundations were discovered, disturbed by agriculture, alongside pottery from Early Helladic I, II and III periods (Fig. 15.1), and obsidian tools (Piteros 1994). Moreover, a fragment of a small, marble, early Cycladic female figurine (Fig. 15.2) was discovered at the same depth (Piteros 1994, 160, pl. 57a; Piteros 2012, 209, fig. 396). The figurine is held in the Museum of Nafplion, (MN32170, Fig. 15.2). The preserved height is 50 mm, the width is approximately 30 mm, and the maximum thickness is 20 mm. It was manufactured from fine quality white marble. It is fragmented at the upper and lower part, preserving the mid-torso to the knees. The upper torso and breasts are not preserved. The surface is smooth and well-preserved. The arms are thin, and they have chips on the right side. They are separated from the torso by thin incisions on the front and the back and are folded canonically on the



Figure 15.1 Upper Epidauros, Koloti, EH pottery.

figurine's abdomen. The folded arms are stylised with deep incisions. The arms become thinner and terminate in pointed ends without any depiction of hands. At the left side of the body, near the waist, three thin incisions represent traces of working.

The pubic area is represented by two thin, oblique incisions. The thighs are approximately 35 mm long, and 30 mm thick and are separated on the front side by a vertical incision that becomes gradually wider. They are

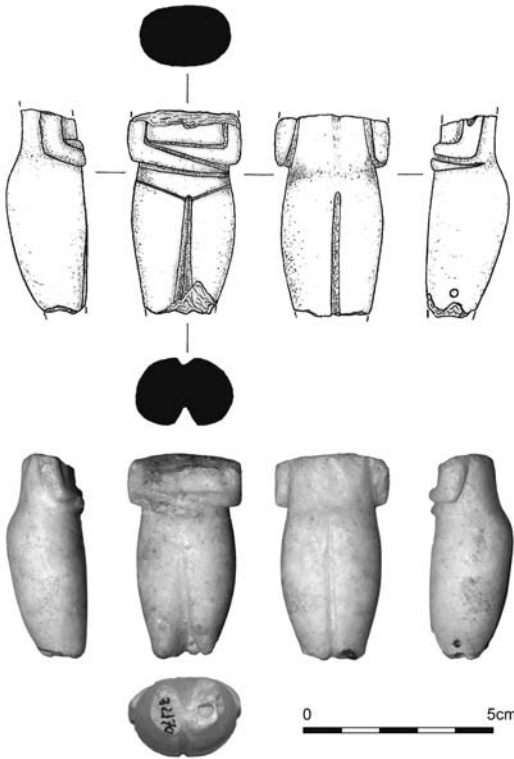


Figure 15.2 Upper Epidauros, Koloti, Cycladic figurine, MN32170. Scale 1:2.

also defined by curved widened contours. The enlarged thighs emphasise the larger size of the lower part of the figurine, bending forward, as Neolithic figurines traditionally do. On the rear side, the torso has a vertical incision, indicating the spine, while the thighs are also separated by an incision, below the buttocks.

At the lower end of the preserved left thigh, the figurine has two holes of differing diameters, a characteristic sign of repair and re-assembling of the lower left leg, which had become separated from the respective right leg. The first hole is in the lower break alongside the femur, the diameter is 3 mm and length 6 mm. The second hole is set horizontally in the lower left preserved surface of the femur, penetrating the vertical hole and ending in a slight cavity in the respective surface of the right thigh. Its diameter is 2 mm and its length is 9 mm. The two small holes were opened by two different-size thin, cylindrical rotating drills with diameters of 3 mm and 2 mm. A significant number of repairs of broken Cycladic figurines is found in many periods, mainly located at thin breakable points, such as the neck, the lower limbs, and the waist (Getz-Preziozi 1981, 8–10, 15; Getz-Gentle 2001, 19; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 69–70).

It is obvious that the Cycladic figurine that was found in Upper Epidauros, with its stylised arms, enlarged lower



Figure 15.3 Ilia, Neraida, Cycladic figurine. Scale 1:2.

part, and small abdomen, was not sculpted following the recognised typology of Cycladic figurines. The figurine is dated to the EC I–II period.

A Cycladic figurine that was found at Neraida (Kaloletsi), in Elis, 9 km north of Ancient Olympia, has a similar configuration of the arms (Fig. 15.3). This figure, which is kept in the Museum of Pyrgos (L.265), is manufactured from fine marble. The preserved height is 103 mm, the width is 31 mm, the maximum thickness is 10 mm, and it is well-preserved. The figurine has a characteristic backward inclination of the head, a high neck, shaped breasts and a stylised irregular configuration of folded arms with pointed ends; the lower part of the body is enlarged (Yialouris 1960, 126; Koumouzelis 1980, 244; Arapoyianni 2004, 3, pl. 16, 3; Vikatou 2012, 362, fig. 729). It is dated to EC I–II, as is the figurine from Epidauros.

It is possible that the upper, missing, part of the figurine from Epidauros could have an analogous configuration of the head to that of the figurine from Elis. Another small fragmented figurine that does not follow the standard typology of Cycladic figurines was found at Akrotiraki on Siphnos and is now held in the Museum of Siphnos (no. 434). It has a similar stylised configuration of folded arms and rough incisions. The preserved height is 38 mm, the width is 21 mm, and the maximum thickness is 6 mm (Papadopoulou 2017, figs 11.6, 11.7). The stylised configurations of the arms observed on these irregular types of Cycladic figurines are obviously early attempts to form the Cycladic type of folded arms, which then evolved into the regular types of the Kapsala and Spedos varieties (Renfrew 1969, 15–16, IV.A, 20–21, IV.F; Sotirakopoulou, 2005, 57–8).

An analogous arm formation is rarely found in the regular types of Spedos and Dokathismata figurines (Renfrew 1969, pl. 5, b,c; Doumas 2000, 153, fig. 220; Doumas 2017, fig. 17.5).



Figure 15.4 Upper Epidaurus, Koloti, EH II pottery.



Figure 15.5 Upper Epidaurus, Koloti, EH III pottery.



Figure 15.6 Upper Epidaurus, Koloti, EH figurine. Scale 1:2.

A further test trench, 4 m × 6 m in size, was dug in the middle of the south side of the hill of Koloti, in G. Stalkop's property, located at the same site of Upper Epidaurus. There pottery of EH I, EH II and EH III was found, specifically sauceboats, bowls, open vases and storage jars, (Figs 15.4, 15.5) Moreover, obsidian tools were found and a section of retaining wall was revealed. Along with the pottery a small Early Helladic figurine (Fig 15.6), which was made of red clay, was also found. It is now kept in the Museum of Nafplion (MN33104, height 40 mm, width 18–22 mm and head thickness 10 mm; Piteros 2008, fig. 94).

The body is flattened front and back, while the base is slightly curved. The left shoulder is curved and the left arm is stylised, cylindrical, going downward to a thin end. The broken right arm was lifted to the right, indicated by the horizontal configuration of the right shoulder and by

the larger right curve of the figurine. The head, with the stylised face and its curved sides, is lifted and enlarged in the upper surface with a backwards tilt. The back side of the head and the neck is flat. On the front side there are traces of decoration in grey colour. The neck and the head are tilted to the left, in contrast to the body's movement and toward the broken right hand.

This figurine from Upper Epidaurus is dated to EH I–II. The figurine, clearly depicting movement, has its origins in the late Neolithic–Chalcolithic tradition. This is shown by comparing figurines indicating movement with free arms and stylised face from Sfakavouni, Arcadia (Maran 2012, 29, fig. 28; Spyropoulos 2012, 258–9, figs 495, 496; Alram-Stern 2004, 639–40), and considering the configuration of the head following the Cycladic Louros-type figurines (Renfrew 1969, 8, ill. 2,III, pl. 2,f; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 56; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 135–7). It becomes obvious that the depiction of the human form in figurines had not disappeared in the Early Helladic period, as has been proposed (Maran 2012, 29).

The key characteristics of the Early Helladic figurine from Upper Epidaurus are that it is depicted moving to the right, with right arm extended, and head moving to the left. It is possible that this figurine was part of a group of two, with the second member of the group, not preserved, also moving to the right. The two moving figurines would have been connected to each other, in all likelihood, via the ends of their extended arms (right and left, respectively). Such a composition would reflect the late Neolithic and Cycladic influence in figurines. An analogous composition may be found in the Goulandris Museum. These are two Cycladic figurines of Spedos type with interlocking arms and hands on each other's back (230 mm height). The piece is fragmentary. The preserved part of its left arm is raised; the right arm of the (missing) corresponding figure is shown on the back of the preserved figure, in a manner reminiscent of a folk dance (Doulas 2000, 48–9, 192, no. 324; Getz-Gentle 2001, 73, fig. 34; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 63–4; Stampolidis & Lourentzatou 2016, 218, no. 155).

It is notable that in the Early Helladic settlement at Zygouries near Kleonai, an intact well-produced human figurine was discovered. Its height is 75 mm, with a cylindrical body (Fig. 15.7). Moreover, it has a slightly domed base (Blegen 1928, 185, pl. XXI, no. 1; Renard 1995, 271, pl. LXXV, b). The head is stylised and inclined. The face is projecting and the nose is pinched. On each side at the shoulder there are protuberances for the arms, as found in Cycladic figurines of the Louros type (Papathanasopoulos 1962, 135–7, pl. 70; Renfrew 1969, 8, pl. 2f; Doulas 2000, 43, 88–9, nos 54–5), and originating from later Neolithic figurines (Spyropoulos 2012, 258–9, figs 495–6). The large, ellipsoidal eyes, the pupils, and the hair at the back, are presented in a reddish-brown colour. Some painted



Figure 15.7 Zygouries, EH figurine, after Blegen 1928, pl. XXI, 1. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Scale 1:2.

eyes on Cycladic figurines of Spedos variety are similar (Doumas 2000, 145, 16, nos 210, 211). The influence of these Cycladic figurines on the Early Helladic figurine of Zygouries is obvious, at the same site where a torso of a Cycladic figurine of Dokathismata variety was also found (100 mm × 87 mm × 20 mm; Blegen 1928, 194, fig. 183; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 59).

A clay figurine head with neck was also found at Gareia-Chairolimni in Arcadia, 60 mm in height and 35 mm in width, most likely dated to EH II. It had nose, eyes, mouth and drilled ears (Howell 1970, 92, fig. 1, pl. 35c; Renard 1995, pl. LXXVa).

A figurine fragment from Koufovouno in Laconia (height 60 mm) has a similarly shaped body and arms as the figurine from Zygouries (Renard 1995, 271, pl. LXXVc). The head is incomplete and probably dates to the EH II period. Another early Helladic male figurine was found at Sparta with a stylised head, incomplete arms, and a belt (Vasilogamvrou & Raftopoulou 2012, 531, fig. 1141). Another example of an Early Helladic anthropomorphic figurine, as yet unpublished, was found at Pellana in Laconia. These Early Helladic figurines confirm the uninterrupted continuity in the representation of the human form during this period.

At the important Early Helladic settlement discovered to the west of the ancient city of Epidaurus on the hill of Katarachi, overlooking the harbour and the Saronic Gulf, another Cycladic figurine (MN31391) was found, incomplete at the head and the right foot, together with pottery and obsidian tools. The figurine is 85 mm high, 32 mm wide and 20 mm thick. It is well preserved, and may be of Kapsala variety, or of some less-regular form. Additionally, three Early Helladic seals were found at the same settlement, suggesting the existence of contacts with the Aegean and the Cyclades, as well as Asini and Lerna (Proskynitopoulou 2011, 68–70, 145–50; Piteros 2012, 208, fig. 397).

Early Helladic II pottery, an animal figurine (possibly a ram), part of an Early Helladic pyxis, a ‘frying pan’, and

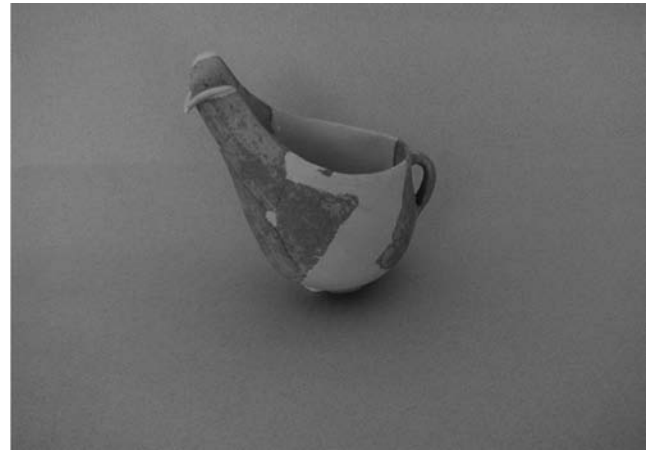


Figure 15.8 Epidauros, Nera, EH II sauceboat.

a Cycladic sealing made of concentric circles, analogous to the seals of the wider Argos area (Pini 1993, no. 426), were found on the west side of the Katarachi hill. In 1985, three Early Helladic tombs were discovered on the eastern side of Katarachi hill, at the site of Nera, an area defined principally by a Mycenaean chamber tomb cemetery (the property of A. Tzavella). Early Helladic grave 6 was an intact elliptical pit 2.9 m × 2.1 m × 1.1 m. It contained 16 skulls with the postcranial material consisting mainly of long bones; other material included a sauceboat (Fig. 15.8), ten obsidian blades and a stone grinder. The elliptical pit grave 7 (1.15 m × 0.90 m × 0.60 m) contained one contracted skeleton and the sherds of a sauceboat. Pit grave 8, also elliptical (1.1 m × 1.4 m × 0.7 m), contained five skulls and several long bones, and eight obsidian blades. Evidently pits 6 and 8 functioned as ossuaries. Similar ossuary pits have been found in many areas: at Zygouries (Blegen 1928, 43–54; Koumouzelis 1980, 51–5), Perachora and elsewhere (Komumouzelis 1991; Renard 1995, 298). Moreover, an analogous pit dating from the start of the Early Helladic I period was found at Delpriza at Kranidi (internal dimensions 1.6 m × 1.4 m), containing the bones of 30 skeletons and a Cycladic figurine. This pit was also used as an ossuary for secondary burials (Kossyva, this volume).

A third small, Early Helladic I–III settlement was also revealed at the sanctuary of Apollo-Maleatas associated with sherds of Early Cycladic ‘frying pans’, three tombs of the Early Helladic I period, and a head of an Early Cycladic figurine (Labrinoudakis 1981, 159, pl. 129b; this volume; Theodorou & Mavrommatidi 2004). Moreover, a deposit of the Early Helladic II period was found in the wider area of the sanctuary of Asklepios, at Ligourio (Piteros 1995, 105). An Early Cycladic amphoriskos (height 80 mm, diameter 120 mm), decorated with incised herringbone, was found to the southwest of Ancient Epidaurus at Iria (Fig. 15.9, MN33105), on the coast of the Argolic Gulf,



Figure 15.9 Iria, EC amphora MN33105.

at a site occupied since the Late Neolithic period. This was probably a grave object from an Early Helladic tomb (Piteros 2010, 412, fig. 80; 2004; 2012, 208, fig. 399). Three Early Helladic settlements have been revealed through fieldwork at Epidauros thus far, at the sites of Katarachi (at the harbour of the ancient city), at Upper Epidauros, and at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas. Three Cycladic figurines have been found so far, one at each settlement. As can be assumed from their fragmentary preservation and from the archaeological research thus far into such objects, the figurines had long-lasting use in the settlements and they were objects of prestige with multiple and ritual uses (Renfrew 1991, 98–101; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 73–5; Hoffmann 2002). The important site of Epidauros is open to the sea, the Saronic Gulf and the Argolic Gulf, and was in communication with Aegina, Attica, the Cyclades and also with the major centres of Argolis, Asini and Lerna.

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AN EARLY CYCLADIC FIGURINE FROM A LATE PROTOGEOMETRIC BURIAL CONTEXT IN ARGOS

Evangelia Pappi

Introduction

Ongoing excavations at Argos conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service and the French School at Athens have brought to light, under the densely built modern city, sporadic deposits of Late and Final Neolithic pottery fragments as well as systematic evidence of successive occupation from the Early Helladic period onwards. An Early Cycladic figurine was found in a hitherto unpublished tomb, unearthed in 1954 during the excavations conducted by the French School at Athens in the southern part of Argos (Sondage 47, tomb 75) on Tripoleos Street (Courbin 1955, 312–13; Courbin 1966, plan). It was placed as a grave good inside the tomb dated to the Late Protogeometric period. Since the early 1960s the figurine has been exhibited in the permanent exhibition of the Archaeological Museum of Argos along with some of the associated grave goods.

The figurine represents a re-contextualised and re-signified EC artefact within a much later burial context and provides important insights into how antiques were perceived in Early Iron Age mortuary practices. The nature of the context and the process by which this EC figurine might have ended up in a Late Protogeometric tomb are discussed below.

The figurine

Neck and upper torso of a folded-arm figurine, Argos Archaeological Museum inv. no. 11964 (Fig. 16.1). White, fine-grained marble. Preserved height 57 mm; width (at elbows) 35 mm, width (at shoulders) 34 mm, width (at neck) 11–12 mm; thickness 12 mm. Preservation: fragment from the upper part of the neck to the line under the right folded arm. The breaks are rounded and eroded. Recent superficial scratches on the lower right side of the back. Weathering mainly on the front. Large chip on torso right above left forearm and smaller chips at both elbows.

The neck is voluminous, cylindrical to conical, and high. The side surfaces are carved straight. The shoulders are square and flat, and the section of the torso at the shoulders has curvilinear sides. The torso is carved as a trapezoid which is a little slimmer at the height of the shoulders and a little broader at the elbows. Two small low projections set close to each other indicate the breasts; the projection of the right breast is a little lower than that of the left. The arms are bent at the elbows and the forearms brought onto the abdomen, the left overlying the right as in the canonical folded-arm figures. The left forearm is placed slightly diagonally along the thorax. No fingers are indicated. Superficial incisions separate the schematic

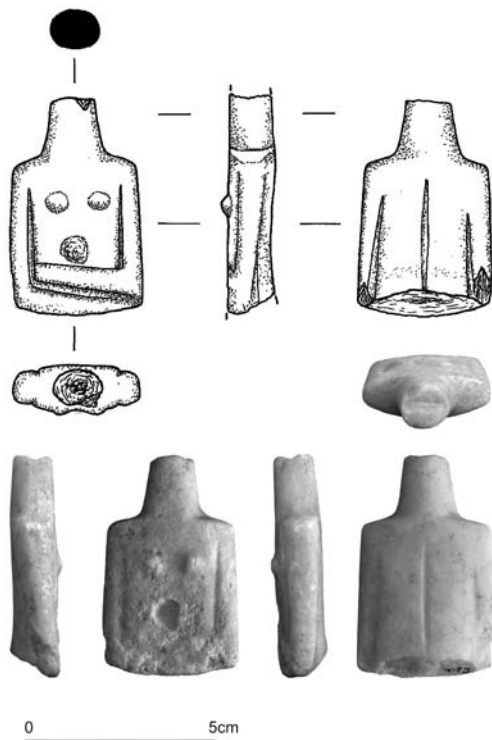


Figure 16.1 Torso of folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety (Argos Museum 11964). Scale 1:2.

arms from the torso and the forearms from one another. A shallow groove down the back indicates the spinal column. In side profile a nearly straight vertical axis.

On the basis of its characteristically flat geometric form, almost plank-like profile, and slightly raised left arm, the Argos figurine should be considered among the Chalandriani variety of the canonical folded-arm type (Renfrew 1969, 17–18; Renfrew 1991, 82–3; Sotirakopoulou 1998, 142–3). It has similarities with EAM6165 from Chalandriani (Renfrew 1969, 17, pl. 8b; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2017, 313, fig. 21.11), two pieces in private collections (Getz-Preziosi 1987, cat. nos 70 and 82), and another in the Goulandris Museum, possibly from Herakleia (Doulmas 2000, cat. no. 337). The torso of the Argos figurine is longer than it is wide, like the figurine with the uncanonical arm arrangement Misc. 8426 in the Berlin Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung (Getz-Preziosi 1994, 34, 36, fig. 22c); figurines of this variety are usually wider than they are long. By its stylistic attributes the figurine can be ascribed to the latest stage of EC II.

The context

The tomb which contained the figurine was a small cist oriented northwest-southeast, covered by three large and a



Figure 16.2 Tomb 75, looking south.

few smaller slabs. The covering measured 1.05 m × 0.90 m. The cist (0.72 m × 0.48 m × 0.32 m) was lined with large slabs, one each for the southwest, southeast and northeast sides and two placed at an angle forming the northwest side. It contained a single inhumation in a contracted position. The cranium rested against the northwest side of the tomb, while the tibiae were parallel with the opposite side; the humeri were placed along the southwest and northeast sides, the radii on the sternum towards the mandible. Thus the body had been fitted into the tomb lying on its left side, the legs tightly flexed, the forearms bent on the chest towards the chin (Figs 16.2–16.4). The human remains were identified as a child of unspecified gender, aged 5 years at death (Charles 1958, 275–7; 1963, 61). Recent re-analysis of the human remains by Charlier suggested that the child was aged 6–12 years at death (Charlier 2013, 204, 209, 212).

Except for the fragmented EC marble figurine, which was placed under the top of the head, the burial was accompanied by an oinochoe (C.457) with dogtooth pattern in a continuous frieze at midpoint, a monochrome one-handled cup (C.461) with barred handle, the conical feet of two cups or skyphoi (C.588 and C.596), a handmade coarse bowl (C.614), a handmade small jug (C.460), a clay disc (C.590), three hemispherical clay objects with incised decoration (C.591, C.592, C.593), a cylindrical clay bead (C.595), 26 flattened disc-shaped faience beads (Os.23), an iron pin with bronze ball (F.36; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 71, no. 221, type B2), four bronze rings, and a marine shell (*Acanthocardia tuberculata*; Figs 16.5–16.8). All grave goods



Figure 16.3 Tomb 75, looking east.

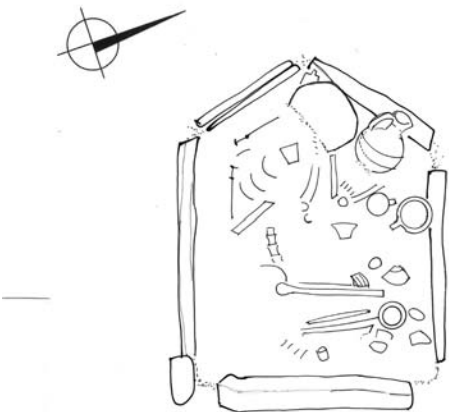


Figure 16.4 Plan of tomb 75. Sketch from the excavation diary.

were placed along the left side of the inhumed child except for the bronze rings, which were found on the fingers of both hands, the iron pin to the right of the head, and the faience beads around the neck.

The oinochoe C.457 is an Attic import. A similar Attic oinochoe was found at Lefkandi, Palia Perivolia, tomb 22 (Lemos 2002, pl. 42.1). The Argos oinochoe was prized enough to warrant a repair as it preserves an ancient repair hole at the trefoil mouth, which lends added value to the object. The Argos tomb has some similarities with Toumba tomb 46, where the grave goods included clay balls, faience beads, sea shells and imported pottery including an Attic pyxis with similar decoration to the



Figure 16.5 Pottery from tomb 75.



Figure 16.6 Clay objects from tomb 75.



Figure 16.7 Faience beads, iron pin and bronze ring from tomb 75.



Figure 16.8 Marine shell from tomb 75.

Argos oinochoe (Popham & Lemos 1996, pls 52, 53, 151). Broken conical feet of open vessels (cups or skyphoi) were also deposited at Lefkandi, Toumba tomb 64 (Popham & Lemos 1996, pl. 69), Naxos, 'grave I – Grotta 1971' (Kourou 2015, 91) as well as Athens, Agora, tombs 52, 51 and 14, and a pit grave at the site of the new Acropolis Museum, the last three being children's inhumations (Papadopoulos & Lord Smithson 2017, 820–2). They are usually preserved intact suggesting intentional breakage and may represent ritual destruction ('killing') of the vases or they may have had some kind of ritual use; they may even have served as children's playthings (Papadopoulos & Lord Smithson 2017, 821). The hemispherical clay objects from the Argos tomb bear some resemblances to the clay balls of Attic Dark Age Incised Ware, found singly or in small groups in Late Protogeometric and Early Geometric tombs at Athens and Lefkandi where they accompany burials of women and possibly children (Reber 1991, 131–3; Langdon 2005, 12–13). The faience beads are exotic items of Levantine origin which are known from mid-10th- to mid-8th-century tombs at Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, Attica, the Argolid and the area of the Euboian *koine* (Stampolidis 2003, 51, 61). These affinities by means of grave assemblages and imported items indicate the participation of Argos in a network of inter-regional contacts during the Late Protogeometric period.

Discussion

Tomb 75 was equipped with some grave goods of non-local provenance which added to the prestige of the burial with which they were deposited. The most impressive of these grave goods is the figurine which represents an object displaced in time and space as not only does it have an origin outside Argos but it also comes from a much earlier

culture, being c. 17 centuries older than the burial. The time lapse between the figurine's manufacture and its final deposition in the Argos tomb raises several questions as to: a) when this EC artefact arrived in the Argolid – in other words if it was an antique when it first arrived – or if it constitutes an item from the EH period thrown-up during later works and b) what was the significance of the intentional deposition of this object in a tomb of the Late Protogeometric period.

Antiques kept as heirlooms, or circulating for many centuries as prestige objects among members of elites, is a recurring phenomenon in the post-Mycenaean Aegean, the most prominent example of the post-palatial period being the so-called Tiryns treasure (Maran 2006). Heirlooms are usually considered objects inherited by kin and kept for several generations before their final deposition. They serve as a link to the ancestral past, to distant times or distant places and help in shaping and consolidating individual and collective identities (Lillios 1999; Mazarakis Ainian 2017, 106). Most of the antiques in Early Iron Age tombs are either relics of the Mycenaean period which might have been maintained in circulation during the Early Iron Age (Mazarakis-Ainian 2000, 199–200; Lemos 2002, 216; Maran 2006, 131) or exotic prestige objects kept as treasures, like the gold pendant of Babylonian origin from the Toumba burial of the 'hero of Lefkandi', or the Near Eastern cylinder seal from Toumba tomb 79, both of which must have been almost a millennium old at the time of deposition (Whitley 2002, 225–6; Antonaccio 2002, 17–30; Crielaard & Driessen 1994). The Cypriot tripods, stands and other metal vessels that appear in Early Iron Age graves at Knossos and Lefkandi must also have been antiques at the time of their deposition (Whitley 2002, 224). Furthermore, the deposition of earlier vases as heirlooms in Protogeometric and Geometric graves is attested as an occasional funerary practice in several parts of the Aegean (Kourou 2015, 86–7). At Early Iron Age Argos, certain tombs are accompanied by exotica and antiques, like the rock-crystal pin head of the shaft-grave period placed in a Sub-mycenaean tomb (Kanta 1975; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 76), and the scarab which was found in a Protogeometric child burial along with a Cypriot pilgrim flask (Papadimitriou 2006, 541–2). The practice continues sporadically at Argos during the Geometric period with the deposition of, usually imported, Protogeometric vases in Geometric tombs (Pappi 2014, 156), and at Tiryns where Mycenaean sealstones have been placed in Geometric tombs as amulets (Pini 1975, 413, 455, no. 574; 1993, 60, 89, no. 88).

Re-contextualised EC figurines are known from the Cyclades, where they have been retrieved from MBA and LBA contexts at Koukounaries on Paros (Katsarou & Schilardi 2017, 417–18), Akrotiri on Thera (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 158), Phylakopi on Melos (Renfrew & Boyd 2017), and

Ayia Irini on Keos (Hershenson & Overbeck 2017). Their use in these later contexts has been interpreted as establishing a reference to the ancestors and demonstrating a perspective of continuity. At Koukounaries, a fragmented EC II figurine has been identified with post-Mycenaean (Early Archaic) contexts, but its deposition may be accidental, due to disturbances of earlier deposits by later activity (Katsarou & Schilardi 2017, 414–15, 417–18). Clearer indications of deliberate re-contextualisation are presented by the deposition of the Phylakopi I figurine in a LH IIIC context within the Temple at Ayia Irini on Keos (Hershenson & Overbeck 2017, 427).

EC figurines are rarely retrieved from later contexts on the mainland. The only EC object re-contextualised in an Early Mycenaean context is a pyxis of the Keros-Syros culture from Grave Circle B, Grave N at Mycenae. Mylonas considered this find a possible heirloom kept within the family, while Graziadio believes it was an accidental find of the Shaft grave period in the Cycladic area (Mylonas 1973, 176, pl. 154δ; Graziadio 1991, 406). It is not very clear whether the head of an EC marble figurine which was found within the ashes of the Mycenaean altar at the Apollo Maleatas sanctuary at Epidauros was deliberately placed on the altar as an heirloom or if its presence there was accidental due to disturbances and mix-up of EH and Mycenaean strata as a result of building activity of the Classical period (Lambrinoudakis this volume). This leaves us with the Argos figurine being the only secure case of an EC marble figurine deliberately deposited in a much later burial context on the mainland. The only other possible case so far is the EC figurine from Eretria which might have come from a disturbed Middle Helladic grave (Huber 2008, 149).

How did the figurine make its way to Argos? The hypothesis that it circulated in a restricted sphere of exchange for over a millennium among members of elites, being kept within certain families for some generations and passing from one individual to another as a gift or prize before its final deposition inside the Argos tomb (as has been proposed in the case of Lefkandi) is a bit far-fetched. The kinds of objects that usually circulated this way were metalwork and jewellery from the Levant, possibly as a result of relations with these distant elites, and they were finally deposited in warrior graves. This is certainly not the case of the burial assemblage of tomb 75.

Thus the only plausible scenario left as to when the figurine reached the mainland and possibly Argos is that this happened during the EH period and at some point there must have been an accidental rediscovery by later inhabitants while digging EH strata. Where might this have happened and when?

An assessment of the wider context of Cycladic – local interactions as reflected in the presence of EC figurines and

other artefacts in the northeast Peloponnese might help us clarify the archaeological context of the figurine. Apart from the Argos and Apollo Maleatas figurines discussed above, two more EC figurines have been found in EH II settlement contexts at Palaia Epidauros (Proskinitopoulou 2011, 148) and Ano Epidauros (Piteros this volume), while EC or Cycladic-style figurines have been retrieved from EH I burial contexts at Delpriza, Kranidi in the southern Argolid (Kossyva this volume); another EC II figurine was a surface find at Zygouries (Blegen 1928, 194, fig. 183); further inland, recent excavations for the construction of the new Lefktro-Sparta highway yielded one more EC figurine at a new EH site in the northern Lakedaemon (Papadimitriou forthcoming). Although the distribution of EC or Cycladic-style figurines on the mainland is limited outside Attica and Euboea, the concentration of EC figurines along the eastern coast of the Peloponnese and especially in the southern Argolid is not odd. As has been pointed out, this region has closer links with the Saronic Gulf and the Cyclades during the EH I–II period than with the Argive plain; in this context it is characteristic that one of the Delpriza tombs bears a resemblance to grave 14 at Ayios Kosmas (Pullen 2013, 550); the region of Palaia Epidauros seems to have a similar orientation towards the Saronic Gulf and the Cyclades due to its geographical position on the northeastern coast of the Argolid. Cycladic or Cycladic-style objects other than figurines present a limited distribution in EH contexts at Tiryns (Weisshaar 1982) and Lerna (Wiencke 2000, fig. II.71) in the Argive plain, as well as Ayioryitika in Arcadia (Petrakis 2002, 49, no. 152, fig. 35) and Tsoungiza in the Nemea valley; their significance in these contexts is not clear (Pullen 2011, 190).

At Argos, EH habitation is known from scant remains which have been unearthed in the course of salvage excavations in the modern city, and from EH I–II pottery attested on the Makrovouni and Magoula Kefalari hills to the northwest and southwest of Argos respectively (Douzougli 1987). In the southeastern part of the modern city architectural remains, refuse pits and pottery of the EH II period have come to light (Demakopoulou 1998) and an EH deposit (refuse pit?) was excavated in 2001 on Ayiou Konstantinou street (A. Papadimitriou, pers. comm.). An EH II tomb was excavated at a relatively close distance from tomb 75 (Courbin 1954, 176, fig. 31), while a few more EH tombs were found in 2005 during a salvage excavation in the eastern part of the modern city on Makariou street (A. Banaka, pers. comm.). No Cycladic imports have been reported from Argos although the presence of an Early Minoan II bird askos, with a parallel found in the EC cemetery of Epano Kouphonisi, indicates contacts with the Aegean (Demakopoulou 1998, 62 note 20). These contacts were intensified during the Middle Helladic period and are attested from the beginning of the period with the presence

of Minoan objects such as the Middle Minoan I stone vase from the Aspis (Vollgraff 1906, 38, fig. 68). Thus the circulation of EC items in the northeast Peloponnese, albeit on a limited scale, and the indications of EH habitation at Argos with contacts with the Aegean, make the hypothesis that the EC figurine came to Argos during the EH period seem plausible yet inconclusive.

The possibility that the figurine might have been obtained as an antique from other sources and have come to Argos through the same circulation mechanism by which the imported oinochoe of tomb 75 reached Argos is another plausible hypothesis. Attica is a region with extended EH habitation and intense Cycladic–Helladic interaction (Kouka 2008) expressed in affinities in material culture, burial practices etc. EC figurines occur in Attica in EH contexts, both settlement and burial, at several sites (see contributions in this volume). Thus the figurine could have been an accidental encounter of the Late Protogeometric inhabitants in disturbances of EH strata in Attica while digging for a foundation wall or a tomb; Early Iron Age activity within EH strata is, for that matter, well attested by rescue excavations conducted during recent years (K. Douni, pers. comm.). Following this scenario, the object could have come to Argos together with the Attic oinochoe that furnished tomb 75.

Whether it was found in Argos or somewhere in Attica, this fortuitous find represented an ‘out-of-context’ exoticum. This manifestly ‘other’ object must have been accorded great value as a curiosity, an exceptional ancestral object from an unknown culture, remote not only in time but also in place, and thus unfamiliar. Its acquisition must have contributed to the creation of prestige and increased personal and familial status and nobility. At a time when social hierarchies had to be redefined during the period that followed the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces and in the process of the formation of the Greek polis, gaining access to certain imports and antiques and establishing close interpersonal contacts with foreign elites would have been an effective means to increase the status of certain families in the late 10th century BC. Whether the figurine was found at the time of the Late Protogeometric Argos burial or earlier, in which case it would have been treasured as an heirloom for some generations before ending up inside the tomb, cannot be answered.

The deposition of the figurine in the tomb represents an amuletic or talismanic practice implied by its placement at the head of the deceased. A similar eschatological function could be ascribed to the faience beads, objects of foreign origin yet mass-produced, which were placed around the neck of the dead offspring (Arrington 2015). Beside the sense of status, the EC figurine would carry a unique significance of apotropaic character and protective power for the young person that was interred in the tomb

because of its female characteristics and the folded arms, possibly invoking unknown deities or forces and evoking some divine gesture.

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North Aegean, Boeotia, Euboea, Phthiotis and Skyros

EARLY BRONZE AGE SCHEMATIC FIGURINES FROM THERMI ON LESBOS

Olga Philaniotou

Introduction

Schematic stone figurines are simple forms, which occur almost throughout the East Mediterranean (Asia Minor, the Aegean islands, mainland Greece, Crete and Cyprus) during the EBA; they differ only in details reflecting local cultural characteristics and preferences. However, as there are clear associations between EBA Thermi and the Cyclades, the figurines presented here are likely to fall within the scope of this review.

The proximity of Lesbos to Asia Minor leads to the reasonable hypothesis that contacts between them must have been close – and indeed they were. Yet, from the time it was founded on the east coast of the island, Thermi was undoubtedly in touch with the Cyclades, as was the Asiatic mainland (περσία) itself (Sotirakopoulou 1997, 522–9; Boulotis 1997, 263–4; Kouka 2002, 164–7, plans 13–14, tables 32–36; diagrams 8–12; Şahoğlu & Tuncel this volume; Kouka this volume).

The site and the excavation

Lesbos is the third largest Greek island, and the most northerly of those which lie close to the shores of Asia Minor (Avgerinou 2008, 45–6). It is favoured by a position on sea routes linking the Aegean with the Black Sea, east with west, with rich vegetation, cultivable land and plenty of water.

The only prehistoric site to have been systematically investigated to date is Thermi, on the east coast of the island, opposite Asia Minor, about 10 km north of Mytilene town.

It was first excavated by Winifred Lamb, a member of the British School at Athens, between 1929 and 1933, with the results published in an exemplary volume (Lamb 1936). After the excavation Lamb filled in the area to protect it, and the archaeological remains remained invisible and inaccessible.

With joint European and Greek funding (70–30% correspondingly) work was begun in February 2005 by the 20th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities to uncover this important early settlement and lay it out as an organised archaeological site.

Lamb's backfill was examined by archaeological excavation methods to ensure the best possible recording. We also investigated some areas which had not been excavated in the 1930s.

Lamb's excavations at Thermi had revealed five main successive phases of construction – houses, streets, and fortification walls – dating to the Early Bronze Age (3200–2350 BC), as well as areas of Middle and Late Bronze Age (c. 1900–1200 BC) occupation (Lamb 1936, 208–13).

Of the Early Bronze Age settlement there can be seen today a large part of the final phase (Thermi V), with streets and parts of the strong defensive wall. Some remains of earlier, Thermi IV, buildings can also be made out. But a

large area to the east has been destroyed by the action of the sea (Lamb & Hutchinson 1930, 2; Lamb 1936, 7) and Lamb removed the northern section, as well as a 5 m wide section at the east, in order to investigate the earlier phases, down to Thermi I (Lamb 1936, 4). To the west and south are building remains of the Middle and Late Bronze Age (Lamb 1936, 65–72).

From the time of its foundation, and certainly in its later EBA phases, Thermi had an urban character (Kouka 2002). The existence of centralised planning and communal organisation is demonstrated by the town's fortifications, the open 'squares', and the wells for public use. Evidence of the advanced urbanisation of Thermi is to be found also in the craft specialisation, the social stratification and the relations and trading exchanges with places abroad: Troy, Lemnos, the Cycladic islands, mainland Greece and even further north to Bulgaria, and east, possibly as far as Afghanistan. A special significance for the site is perhaps indicated by the presence of numerous (c. 200) clay figurines of human form, a number far larger than that from any other contemporary site (Marangou 1992, 146; 1997, 650).

Stone figurines from stratified levels were found only in the early phases (Towns I–III, c. 3200–2700 BC). Their production seems to have stopped during Town III, when the first clay figurines appear (Lamb 1936, 176, 208; Kouka 2002, 162). These continued to be made throughout the life of the EBA settlement.

Catalogue of stone figurines

Ten stone figurines were found at Thermi. Three came from Town I (MM4723, MM4726 and MM4727), one from Town II or III (MM4724) and one from Town III (MM4725); the rest were found in disturbed levels. Nos 1–6 come from Winifred Lamb's excavations between 1929–1932 and nos 7–10 from our excavations, 2006–2008. All are schematic, but present considerable variation in form. The material was examined by Dr Y. Bassiakos and Dr G. Mastrotheodoros, by XRF. Their report will appear in a separate paper.

A. Town I

1. MM4723 (Fig. 17.1).

Height 50 mm

Intact, made of white veined marble

Rounded lower body; pronounced, slightly rounded, shoulders. A prong-like projection represents the neck and head as a single undifferentiated form, pointed at the top. Thin in profile, with a slight protrusion at the front, on the upper part of the 'neck'.

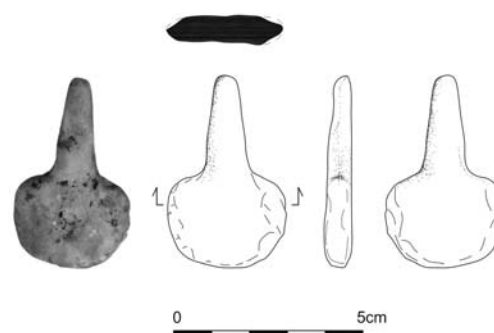


Figure 17.1 Schematic figurine MM4723, Thermi I. Scale 1:2.

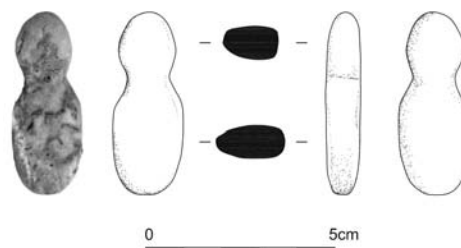


Figure 17.2 Schematic figurine MM4727, Thermi I. Scale 1:2.

Found in the stream-bed which cut through area E (Lamb 1936, 177, no. 30.54, pl. XXVI), together with a crucible and a small, fragmentary asks (Lamb 1936, nos 32, 30.43, 17, 100, 157, pls XXIV, XXIX, 4). The central position of area E in the settlement, its association with metallurgy and other activities such as spinning and leather processing and its consequent wealth, have been noted (Kouka 1997, 474).

2. MM4727 (Fig. 17.2).

Height 47 mm

Intact, made of the same white veined marble as the previous example (MM4723). Polished, but slightly uneven surface. Elongated ellipsoid body. Two broad and curving opposite notches, unequal in size, indicate the position of head and torso. Thin, flat profile.

Found in area Θ (Lamb 1936, 177, no. 31.98, pl. XXVI).

3. MM4726 (Fig. 17.3).

Height 90 mm

Intact, made of andesite. Rough and uneven surface. Chipped on the left upper part and at the lowest edge.

Eight-shaped, with ellipsoid body and circular head, with two circular cavities, of unequal size, on one side.

Found in area Θ (Lamb 1936, 177, no. 31.83, pl. XXIV), like no. 2 (MM4727).

B. Town II or III

4. MM4724 (Fig. 17.4)

Height 85 mm

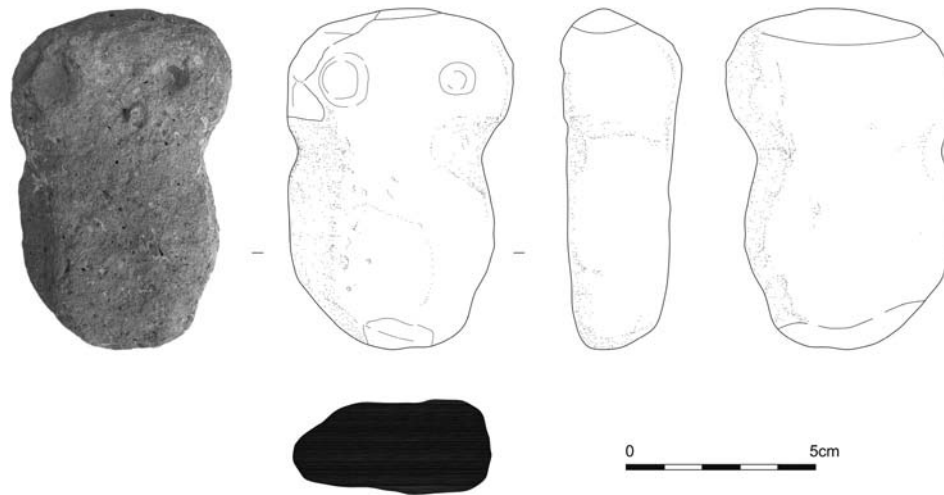


Figure 17.3 Schematic figurine MM4726, Thermi I. Scale 1:2.

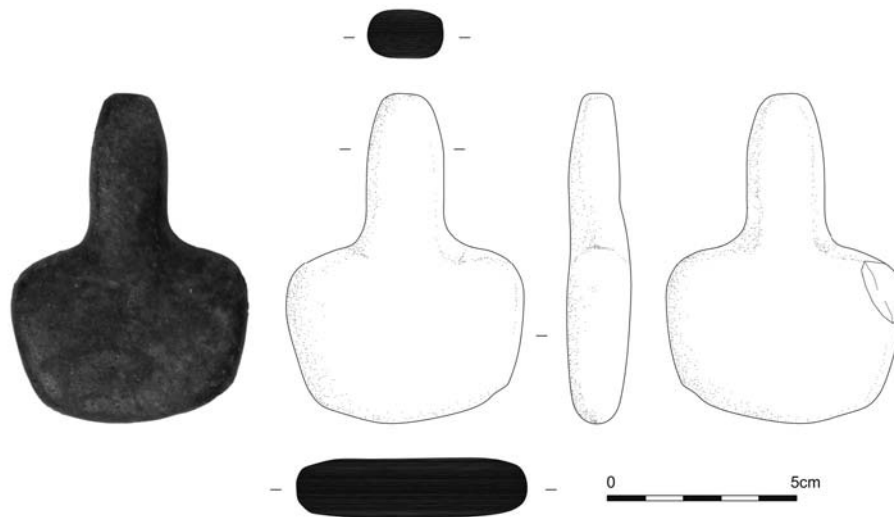


Figure 17.4 Schematic figurine MM4724, Thermi II or III. Scale 1:2.

Intact, made of dark-coloured, stained marble. Well-polished, lustrous surface.

Spade-shaped body with rounded contours. Head and neck represented by a projection, flat at the top. Thin in profile, slightly bulging at the front on the upper part of the torso.

Found in area E, in a level that could belong either to Town II or Town III (Lamb 1936, 177, no. 30.35, pl. XXVI).

C. Town III

5. MM4725 (Fig. 17.5).

Height 33 mm

Intact, made of yellowish stained marble. Lustrous surface, slightly chipped on one broad side.

Spade-shaped body with rounded contours and drooping shoulders. Head and neck represented by a short projection. Relatively thick in profile.

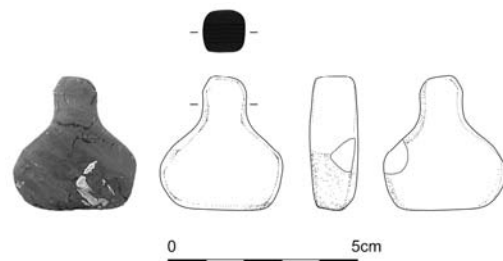


Figure 17.5 Schematic figurine MM4725, Thermi III. Scale 1:2.

Found in area K, 'on the slope of the mound', possibly from Town III (Lamb 1936, 177, no. 31.73, pl. XXVI).

Kouka (2002, 202 and table 50) considers that on the basis of the stratigraphic evidence presented by Lamb, this figurine may be earlier than Town III.

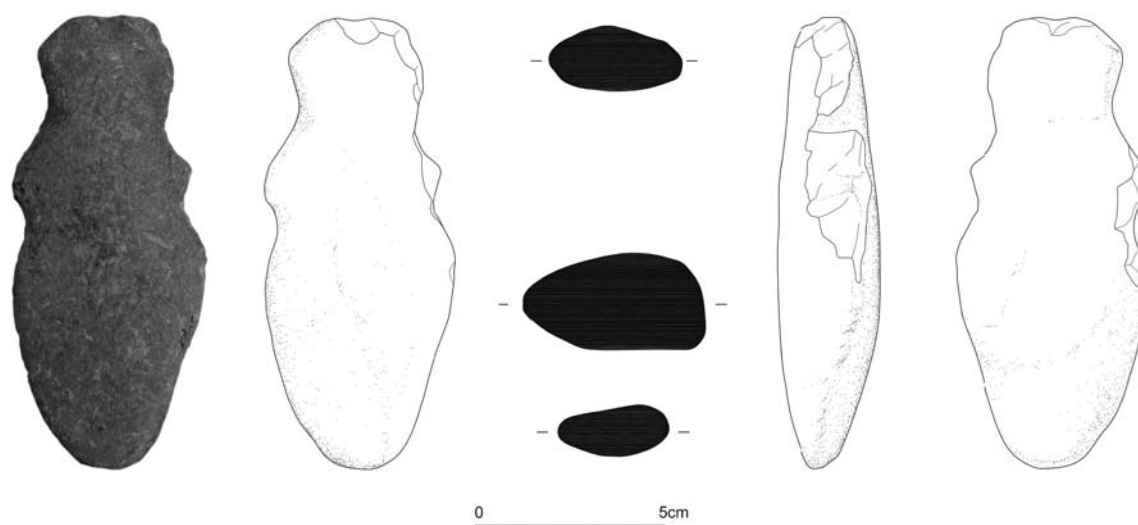


Figure 17.6 Schematic figurine MM4728, Thermi EBA, unstratified. Scale 1:2.

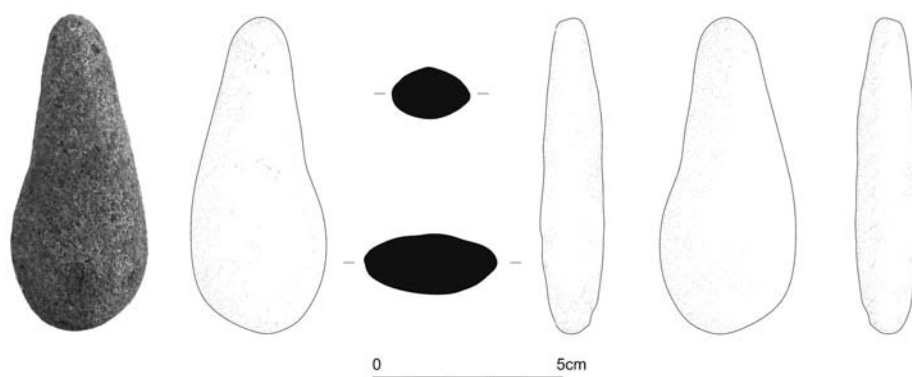


Figure 17.7 Schematic figurine Θμ10, Thermi, mixed levels. Scale 1:2.

On the basis of the XRF analysis by Drs Bassiakos and Mastrotheodoros the marble could be Cycladic, an idea proposed also by Kouka (2002, 202) on stylistic grounds.

D. From disturbed levels

6. MM4728 (Fig. 17.6).

Height 120 mm

Intact, made of greenish local andesite. Rough surface, small chips along the outline.

Elongated ellipsoidal body. Deep curving notches emphasise the transition from upper to lower torso and to the neck and head. The arms are rendered as triangular stumps at the shoulders. Ellipsoidal in profile, rounded at the top, pointed lower end.

According to Lamb (1936, 177, no. 30.58, pl. XXIV) it was found in the 'dump'; however, she seems in no doubt about its EBA date, even though it cannot be assigned to a specific phase.

7. MMΘμ10 (Fig. 17.7).

Height 76 mm

Intact, made of local andesite. Smooth surface.

Drop-shaped, slightly curved profile.

EE 395, square Λ41, +3.62–3.82 m.

Previously unpublished.

8. MMΘμ11 (Fig. 17.8).

Height 85 mm

Intact, made of local andesite. Rough surface.

Drop-shaped, slightly concave on one side. Flat profile.

EE 498, square Λ42, +3.61 m.

Previously unpublished.

Nos 7 and 8 were found in the excavation trenches Λ41 and Λ42 which lie to the south of the EBA settlement, beyond the fortification wall of Town V. In this area were Lamb's 'M' trenches where she found no building remains, only 'Red and Grey' pottery, dating presumably to the MBA, occasionally mixed with EBA sherds (Lamb 1936, 69).

9. MMΘμ12 (Fig. 17.9).

Height 53 mm

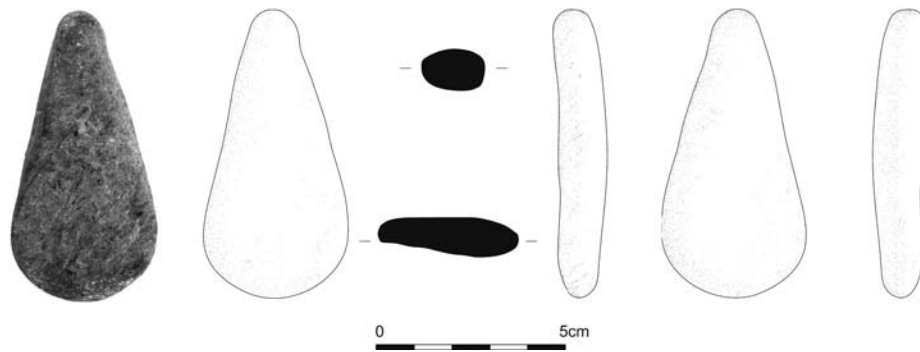


Figure 17.8 Schematic figurine Θμ11, Thermi, mixed levels. Scale 1:2.

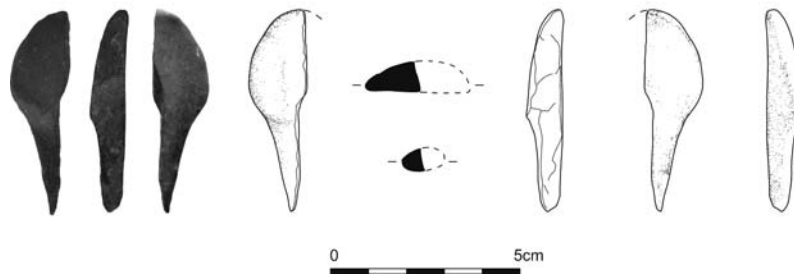


Figure 17.9 Schematic figurine Θμ12, Thermi, mixed levels. Scale 1:2.

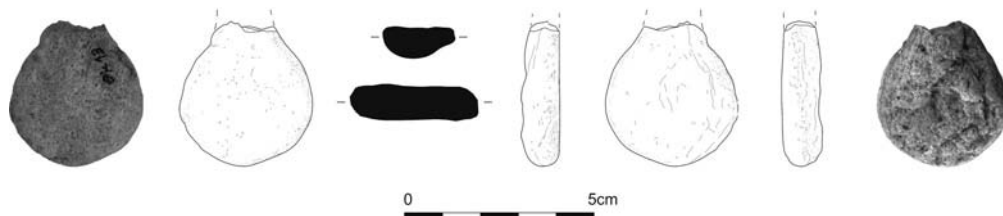


Figure 17.10 Schematic figurine Θμ13, Thermi, mixed levels. Scale 1:2.

Head of schematic figurine, 50% preserved, broken lengthwise. Rounded head, chin defined on one preserved side. Elongated neck. Flat in profile.

Pale green microcrystalline limestone. Smooth, polished surface. Square P31, top layer, Λ184. Mixed deposit

This fragment is interesting, because, if a figurine, the neck does not appear to be broken at the lower end, allowing us to suppose that it belonged to an acrolithic piece.

10. MMΘμ13 (Fig. 17.10).

Height 38 mm

Body of schematic figurine.

Rounded body, broken at base of neck. One surface smooth, one rough.

Volcanic rhyolite.

Square EE832, mixed deposit.

Discussion

Figurines

Thermi constitutes an interesting phenomenon as regards the presence of figurines. While at Troy and, more widely, Asia Minor, the production of stone figurines continued throughout the Early Bronze Age (Takaoğlu 2011, 158–63; Efe & Türkteki 2011, 228–31; Kouka this volume), at Thermi it seems to have stopped during the third phase of the settlement (c. 2700 BC), when terracotta figurines first appear (Lamb 1936, 208; Marangou 1992, 74). These are relatively naturalistic – as naturalistic as the contemporary Cycladic marble figurines may be considered: distinctively human forms, almost all female. The terracotta figurines are numerous, about 200 – the largest known number

from any contemporary site in the north Aegean. On the neighbouring island of Lemnos, not one is known from the large EBA settlement of Poliochni (Marangou 1992, 65–73), and only one fragmentary example was found at Koukonisi (Boulotis 1997, 262, fig. 17); but they are found at Myrina. Stone figurines are also rare at Poliochni, and those mentioned in the bibliography are doubtful (Marangou 1992, 65 and note 3), since they bear marks of use, perhaps as tools.

Lamb (1936, 177) had considered figurines 1, 4, and 5 (MM4723, MM4724 and MM4725, Figs 17.1, 17.4, 17.5) to be ‘fiddle-shaped’, a type with a wide distribution from Troy, Mesopotamia in the east, Crete in the south, to the Caucasus on the north. Blegen (Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27–8) assigned them to Trojan types 5B, C. The rounded or spade-shaped lower body and pointed or slightly rounded prong which represents the head and neck could be reminiscent of the ‘Beycesultan’ type (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 54; Takaoglu 2011, 160; Efe & Türkteki 2011, 228, no. 234). They differ, however, from both that eastern type and the Cycladic violin-shaped figurines because of the absence of pointed arm stumps or any indication of waist. They are closer to other Cycladic schematic forms, the ‘spade’ (without notches defining the waist) or ‘spatula’ types, which, while rare in the Cyclades (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 53), appear as imports or local imitations in Crete, for instance at Hagios Onoufrios (Kanta & Karetsou 2017, 246, fig. 14) and the Gerani Cave (Gavrilaki 2017, 112, fig. 8), and in Attica at Aghios Kosmas, Marathon (Tsepi), Aegaleo (Kostanti & Christopoulou this volume; Pantelidou Gofa this volume; Asimakou this volume).

Within this broad horizon, the three Thermi figurines seem to constitute a local variety, as Höckmann (1977, 174, fig. 176.11) had proposed, naming them ‘the Thermi I type’ (in fact they were found in contexts dating to all three earlier phases of the settlement), and they reflect both eastern and Cycladic traditions.

The form of nos 2 and 3 (MM4727, MM4726; Figs 17.2, 17.3) comes close to the figure-of-eight (Troy) type. No. 2 (MM4727) is more elongated and flatter, while no. 3 (MM4726) has a thicker profile. The form may have originated in Troy (I–II) and northwest Asia Minor, but had a wide distribution ranging from southwest Asia Minor (Aphrodisias, Bakla Tepe, Miletus, Karataş-Semayük and, further inland, Beycesultan), to Samos (Heraion), the Cyclades (Paros, Naxos, Kouphonisi, Thera) and Crete (Lebena, Agios Onoufrios, Zakros; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 54; Şahoğlu & Tuncel this volume; Kouka this volume).

As regards the peculiarities of no. 3 (MM4726), they may be due to possible re-use as a tool – a practice which was not uncommon in the EBA (cf. Marangou 1992, 170). In this case the two cavities on the ‘face’, interpreted by Lamb (1936, 177) as representing eyes, may have been the

result of attempts at perforation or the placing of a tool for ‘drilling’. An interesting example of re-use in a later period is the ‘Troy type’ figurine of rock crystal, which had been pierced, presumably to serve as an amulet; it was found in Late Geometric levels at Eleftherna (Stambolides 2017, 427, fig. 15).

In its present form the Thermi figurine is reminiscent of the EB III ‘owl-headed’ idols of western Anatolia (Efe & Türkteki 2011, 231, pls 334, 388, 389). Its thick profile has a close parallel in some schematic figurines from Kamari on Paros and Livadi on Despotiko (Tsountas 1898, 161, 163, pl. 11.12; Rambach 2000, 40, taf. 15.10, 166.9), Kouphonisi (Philaniotou 2017a, 177, fig. 14.11) and Skarkos (Marthari 2017, 152, 155, fig. 12.22), the latter assigned to the Apeiranthos type. For the complexities regarding the exact definition of this type see Platon & Kyritsi 2017, 380. The Thermi figurine is also close to several Cretan examples (cf. Warren 2017, 304, 308, 309, fig. 6; Tsipopoulou & Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2017, 356, no. 3, figs 5, 16; Platon & Kyritsi 2017, 379–80, fig. 1).

Figurine no. 6 (MM4728) seems to have close parallels in LN examples from northern Greece, for example from Makrygialos in Pieria (Nanoglou & Pappa 2009, 254, figs 3, 4) as well as in Cycladic schematic figurines of the ‘shouldered’ type, such as some items from Kouphonisi and Naxos (Philaniotou 2017a, 177, fig. 14.14; 2017b, 266, fig. 18.7). One might also compare AKR1860 and, for the pointed arm-stumps, AKR1886 from Akrotiri (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 123–5, fig. 7, ‘figurines of peculiar forms’) and the ‘violin-shaped’ example from Astypalaia (Vlachopoulos & Angelopoulou this volume, Fig. 24.2). The lower part resembles that of the ‘tapering’ Cretan figurines, which were dated to EM II–MM I, while several have been found in contexts with Cycladic or Cycladic-type figures (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1983, 64–5, pls 26a, b, c; Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 509).

The triangular arm-stumps also foreshadow those of the clay figurines which appeared in Thermi Towns III and IV (for example: Lamb 1936, pls XX, 29.3, 30.28, XXI, 31.33, 31.80, XXII, 31.27, 31.25) and, in the Cyclades, those of the Louros type.

Figurines MM0μ10 and MM0μ11 are included here because of their interest in relation to the existence of pebble-type figurines since the Neolithic period and certainly in the EBA, in a broad area covering Asia Minor, the East Aegean, Crete, the Cyclades and mainland Greece. These objects may be natural stones chosen for their shape (in which case some excavators have classified them as tools, rejecting their possible function as figurines), or may have undergone some slight treatment (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 53; Renfrew 2017, 28, figs 3.9, 3.10; Televantou 2017, 43, fig. 5.8; Papadopoulou 2017, 109, 113, figs 11.3, 11.12).

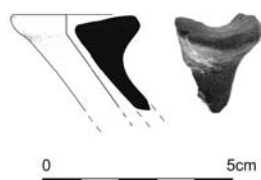


Figure 17.11 Nozzle of clay 'Lamp' Θμ17, Thermi, mixed levels. Scale 1:2.

Stone objects in pebble form were found at Emborio on Chios, in phases IX-I, which are equivalent to the EBA (all phases) and the MBA at Thermi. These were interpreted as figurines by Hood (1982, 655–6, fig. 293, pl. 136), who associated them with those from Troy and the Cyclades. He observed that the material they were made of was too soft for making tools and they show no signs of wear.

As regards no. 9 (MMΘμ 12), acrolithic figurines are known from Late Neolithic contexts (cf. Nanoglou & Pappa 2009, 257). The head of an LBA 'kouros' from Naxos has been interpreted as acrolithic, as also some heads made of ivory or other bone from LBA mainland Greece (Vlachopoulos 2010, 106–08, 110–13) and Crete (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 707).

However, the Thermi head bears no resemblance to the LBA examples. It is close to the earlier, LNII–FN head from Strofilas (Televantou 2017, 45, fig. 5.13) and the head of a long-necked, spade-shaped or spatula-shaped EBA figurine from Aghios Kosmas in Attica (Kostanti & Christopoulou this volume).

External relations as documented in various Thermi artefacts

As regards foreign contacts, apart from the unsurprising and well-documented connection of Thermi with Asia Minor (Lamb 1936, 208; Kouka 2013, 576), its relations with the Cyclades, as they appear in various artefacts, were pointed out by the first excavator in the 1930s and subsequently remarked on by other scholars (Renfrew 1972; Kouka 2002; Sotirakopoulou 1997).

In the pottery, links with the Cyclades appear in the 'bottle-shaped' vases and incised 'herring bone' decoration (Lamb 1936, 132, no. 565, pl. XIII, Town III or IV, H).

An interesting item noted during the study of the 2006–2008 material is the nozzle of a 'lamp' (MMΘμ017, Fig. 17.11), made of brown semi-coarse clay, height 33 mm. The surface is burnished, but undecorated. It was found west of the EBA fortification wall of Thermi, in an area backfilled by Lamb. The shape is typically Cycladic and appears in marble but most commonly in clay. Apart from items of unknown provenance, the only well-documented examples come from south Naxos (in marble, from the

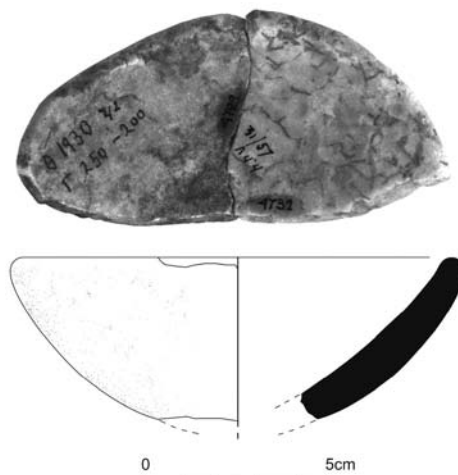


Figure 17.12 Marble plain rim bowl fragment, MM4729, MM4731. Thermi I–III. Scale 1:2.

cemetery of Spedos), Kato Kouphonisi and the Keros Special Deposits (Sotirakopoulou 2004, 1320, pl. 13; Sotirakopoulou 2018, 439). This shape is not known so far outside the Cyclades. Its discovery at Thermi, where it is almost certainly an import, is an important addition to the range of artefacts documenting contacts between this site and the Cyclades, such as (among others) the bronze bird-headed pins (Lamb 1936, 166, 175, no. 31.18, pl. XXV, A, Town I; 31.19, pl. XXV, XLVII, Γ, room 3, Town I), the carved bone cylinders, the small stone 'spools' (Lamb 1936, 195, no. 30.56, MM9428, pl. XXIII, Town IV, E) and the two celts made of emery (MM5010: Lamb 1936, 187, pl. XXVI, 31.64, area E, Town III; MM5042: Lamb 1936, 187, pl. L, 29.3, area B, Town III or IV), which may have Naxian provenance.

Similarities with the Cycladic style have also been noted in some types of terracotta figurines from Thermi, which appear close to the Cycladic folded-arm varieties.

Undoubted imports from the Cyclades are the fragments of marble bowls (Figs 17.12–17.15), dating, like the stratified stone figurines, to the early EBA phases of Thermi (Lamb & Hutchinson 1930, 44, 46–7, fig. 16b; Lamb 1936, 177–8, 208, fig. 51; Devetzi 1997, 561).

Lamb mentions five fragments which she found dispersed in different sectors of Towns I–III and another piece which was unearthed near the surface of a trial trench in the south sector of the settlement (Lamb 1936, 178). She does not describe them in the same detail as almost all other finds. The excavation numbers of two fragments – one of the two which Lamb attributes to Town I and of the surface find – are not given in her text, nor do the objects appear in the figures (1930, fig. 16b; 1936, fig. 51). The first was identified through the depth inscribed on

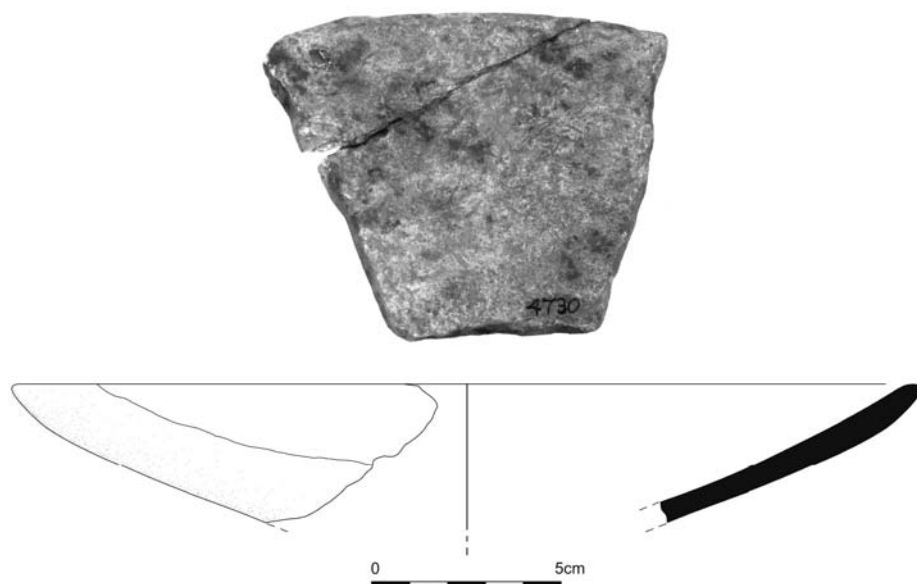


Figure 17.13 Marble plain rim bowl fragment, MM4730. Thermi II. Scale 1:2.

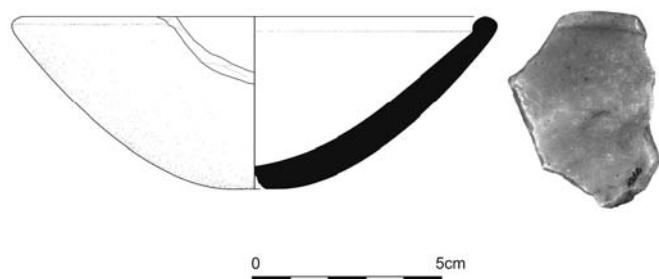


Figure 17.14 Marble rolled-rim bowl fragment, MM4266. Thermi III. Scale 1:2.

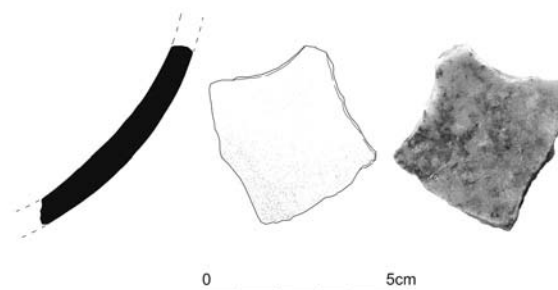


Figure 17.16 Marble bowl body fragment, MM0μ18. Thermi, mixed levels. Scale 1:2.

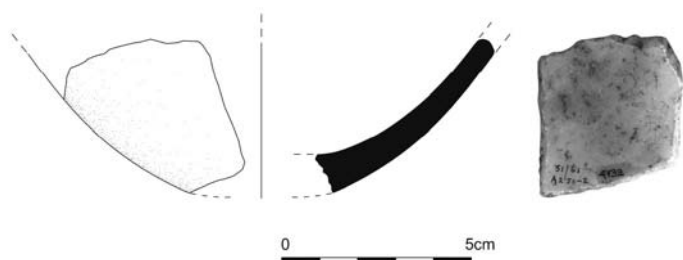


Figure 17.15 Marble bowl body fragment, MM4732. Thermi I. Scale 1:2.

it – 2.50–2 m – which, on the basis of Lamb's stratigraphy (1936, figs 2, 25), corresponds to Town I. The second has not been located in the museum of Mytilene.

In the figures (Lamb & Hutchinson 1930, fig. 16b; Lamb 1936, fig. 51), the numbers 30.42/MM4729 and 30.46/MM4730 are reversed. The profiles do not match those of the objects which bear those numbers: the profile of 30.42/MM4729 is similar to that of 31.57/MM4731 with which it joins. This join raised a problem of chronology:

on the basis of the provenance and depth as marked on the fragments, the first was found in sector Γ, at a depth of 2.5–2 m, which corresponds to Town I, and the second several metres to the south, in sector Λ, at a depth of 4.4 m, which corresponds to Town III.

However, in spite of these discrepancies, there is no doubt that all the above fragments can be assigned to Towns I–III and are certainly prior to Town IV.

Another body fragment of a marble bowl (MM0μ18, Fig. 17.16) came to light during the excavations of 2006–2008, in an area excavated and backfilled by Lamb in the northern sector of the settlement. All the fragments are made of white, almost certainly Cycladic, marble and, as Lamb had noted, their forms are typically Early Cycladic, with the usual variations as regards rim forms (where the rim is preserved). One piece (MM4266, Fig. 17.14), which can securely be dated to Town III, has a rounded, rolled rim (cf. Marketou this volume, Δ2, Figs 25.2 and 25.5). Two (MM4729+MM4731 and MM4730: Figs 17.12, 17.13)

have plain rims, rounded or pointed (cf. Gavalas 2018, 279, variants a, b; Voutsaki 2000, 289–90).

The schematic figurines of Thermi Towns I–III, made of marble or various local, volcanic stones, appear to be local variations of types known from Asia Minor, northern Greece and the Cyclades. The clear Cycladic connections demonstrable in other objects, as outlined above, help us better to appreciate their presence at Thermi against a broad background stretching from the northeast Aegean to the Cyclades, in which the schematic rendering of the human form was a concept held in common.

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A COMMENT ON A CYCLADIC FIGURINE IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF THEBES

Eleni Andrikou

The female bone figurine of the folded-arm type (BE27108) in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes was excavated in 1995 in an Early Helladic domestic area in the southeast sector of the Kadmeia hill (Andrikou 1995, 284–5) and published in 1998 (Andrikou 1998). Although miniature in size (preserved height 30 mm), it is characterised by naturalism expressed through the plasticity of volume and engraved details, both of which are rendered very successfully, and by the highly polished surfaces. The tiny size and the surface treatment render the bone used unidentifiable. It combines traits met on canonical folded-arm figurines of different varieties: the slender, rather fleshy shape with smooth contours is reminiscent of the Kapsala variety, the bend at the hips and knees recalls the Kapsala and Spedos varieties, while the marked pubic triangle is similar to figurines of the Dokathismata and Chalandriani varieties (Renfrew 1969). The position of the arms, right forearm horizontal and left forearm diagonally against the chest, both with an emphasis on the hands, shows that it belongs to a postcanonical variety of the folded-arm type. The postcanonical figures are considered late examples of the Chalandriani variety or a separate group with naturalistic elements (Thimme 1977), recently defined as the Keros variety (Renfrew 2018, 15–16). So, a late EH II or EH III date is probable on typological grounds, which is consistent with the chronology of the pottery

coming from the same context, mainly of the Theban Group B, but also sparingly comprising sherds of the painted dark-on-light and the partially glazed category (Konsola 1981, 119–26, 144–7).

Two issues may be considered about the figurine, one concerning its use and meaning and the other its origin.

The figurine has both legs pierced to a depth of 5 mm so that feet made of a separate piece of bone could be inserted. This, as well as the miniature size, implied from the beginning that it was not an independent item but part of another object. The possibility that it formed the head of a bone pin with the feet carved on top of the pin was suggested. Until recently, such a pin crowned with a human figure was not known. Recent excavations at the Chalandriani cemetery on Syros have provided the missing parallel (Marthari 2017, 305–07, fig. 20.15). A bone pin with a head in the shape of a human figure in the folded-arm style was found in Grave VII in a Keros-Syros context. The excavator notes that it is ‘totally unparalleled as an item of adornment’ (Marthari 2017, 305). The figurine is worked in one piece with the pin itself, in a rather crude manner. The legs are separated as in the Theban example. The Chalandriani figurine, 26 mm in height and 6 mm in maximum width at the shoulders, is of similar dimensions to the Theban example, although slightly smaller. The Theban figure is 30 mm in height, excluding the missing

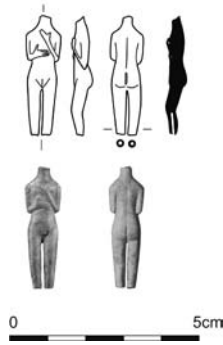


Figure 18.1 Bone figurine (BE27108) from Thebes. Scale 1:2.

head and the feet, and 8 mm in maximum width at the shoulders. If the Theban female figurine found in a domestic context actually belongs to a pin, then it can be thought of as a personal item, like its counterpart in the Chalandriani cemetery, although in this case it did not end up in the grave with the deceased owner.

In Chalandriani Grave VII, two more bone pins were found, one missing its head, and the other with a bird-shaped head. Three more pins with a head in the shape of a bird were already known from the same cemetery (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1977, 123–5, fig. 97) and another from the Manika cemetery on Euboea (Kalligas 1984, 91). All these examples, including one more in silver from Dokathismata, Amorgos which is crowned with a ram (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1977, 123–5, fig. 98), illustrate an interest in depicting living creatures as pin finials. In this light, the Cycladic affiliations of the Theban figurine become stronger. However, its naturalism, high quality of execution and the later dating make it distinct. Furthermore, it is the work of an experienced artist who tried to surpass the limits of the material by carving the figurine separately from the pin, choosing the right piece of bone in quality and size, and who also selected those features of different figurine varieties that greatly added to the naturalistic aspect of the figurine.

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Figure 18.2 Detail of bone figurine BE27108. Not to scale.

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CYCLADIC FIGURINES FROM EUBOEIA

Efi Sapouna-Sakellarakis

The island of Euboea forms a bridge between the mainland and the islands of the Cyclades. The people of the Cyclades and their dominant role in trade during the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age are evidenced by the occurrence of Cycladic raw materials, such as obsidian, and of Cycladic or cycladicising products, such as figurines. It is worth mentioning that the Cycladic figurines of Euboea are not only of interesting types but also come from excavations with clear contexts.

Cycladic figurines have been found in coastal areas of Euboea. A figurine of the ‘Troy type’ was found in the settlement of Magoula near Eretria (cat. no. 2, Fig. 19.2; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1989a, 103, pl. 21) together with local and Cycladic finds, including part of a hearth with stamped decoration (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1989a, pl. 20, fig. 21) and part of a frying pan (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1989a, 103, fig. 43α).

In the southern part of Euboea, namely at Lefka, Styra, three Cycladic figurines were found in 1891 (cat. nos 16–17, Fig. 19.16; Wolters 1891), which led to the hypothesis of an Early Bronze Age coastal site. Later archaeological surveys (Sackett *et al.* 1966, 78) confirmed the presence of a settlement oriented towards the sea, which controlled the broad bay. More recently, investigations by the Greek Archaeological Service brought to light obsidian blades, fragments of a marble bowl with lugs and other stone vessels, EH pottery, part of the head of a Cycladic figurine (MK1251, cat. no. 15, Kosma 2010; this volume), the body of another one (MK1252, cat. no. 14; Kosma 2010; this volume)

and several more figurines (this volume). The new finds at Styra (settlement and cemetery) show that it was a very important centre and that the travellers from the Cyclades had a base there, an ‘emporeion’, to avoid the term ‘colony’.

A Cycladic figurine was found recently on the Akropolis of Eretria (EM19448; cat. no. 18, Fig. 19.17; Reber *et al.* 2008). Also, close to Eretria, at Amarynthos, Cycladic pottery was found among the EH II finds on the hill of Palaiochora. All the sites mentioned above are situated along the southwest coast of Euboea.

On the northwest coast, to the northwest of Chalkis and not far from the fertile plain of Psachna and the Lelantine plain, lies Manika, the most important settlement and cemetery of the Early Helladic period to date. Its position opposite the shores of Boeotia ensured that it could control the ships passing through between southern and northern Euboea. The distribution of local products did not encourage its inhabitants to venture abroad due to its rich agricultural production, and it is not clear if they were a sea-faring people. On the contrary, it seems more likely that due to its position it was a place of trade. The timber of Euboea could have been transported by the sailors of the Cyclades for their shipbuilding. On the other hand, the Cycladic islanders may have brought to Euboea products from the East, accompanied by their own local products.

The excavations of the last century in Manika by Tsountas in 1903 and Papavasileiou (Papavasileiou 1910, 1–19) in five groups of tombs revealed Cycladic elements: marble bowls, frying pans, tweezers and obsidian. In

the first group, two figurines, one of the schematic type (HM361, cat. no. 4, Fig. 19.4) and another of the folded-arm type (HM360, cat. no. 11, Fig. 19.11), were found together with obsidian and two frying pans.

In the same area, new excavations since 1983 (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1987b) have produced important information concerning relations between the Cyclades and Euboea. From the settlement (the Zoussi plot) comes a figurine of the 'Troy type' (HM5973, cat. no. 1, Fig. 19.1; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1987b; 1986, pl. 50δ-ε) and part of a frying pan (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1987b; 1986, 266 fig. 96 no. 426).

Eight new rock-cut tombs in the Beligianni plot were semi-circular, circular and horseshoe-shaped in plan with a rectangular or trapezoidal dromos. Several Cycladic objects came to light. In Tomb 7, seven frying pans decorated with spirals in relief or with incised circles and zigzag, contained bones. The most important find of this group of graves is a figurine made of bone (HM5419, cat. no. 3, Fig. 19.3) from Tomb 8.

Catalogue

1. Schematic figurine ('Troy Type', HM5973) (Fig. 19.1).

Manika, Zoussi plot.

Height 27 mm

Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1986, pl. 50δ-ε; 1991, 8, 11, pl. 2.1.

This type is known from Anatolia (Hökmann 1977, 175, fig. 176.12) and has been found on Crete (at Lebena, Aghios Onoufrios, and Zakros), on Naxos, at Akrotiri on Thera (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 118, fig. 5), and at Skarkos on Ios (Marthari 2017, 152, fig. 12.22, Ios cat. no. 3680). According to Sotirakopoulou (2008a, 73), 'these forms travelled across the Aegean through Cycladic intermediaries'.

2. Schematic figurine ('Troy Type') (Fig. 19.2).

Magoula, Eretria museum

Height 35.5 mm

Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 11, fig. 2.2.

3. Bone figurine (HM5419) (Fig. 19.3).

Manika, Beligianni plot, Tomb 8.

Height 53 mm

Standing figurine with separated legs which, like the arms, end in triangular protuberances. Head inclined backwards. Eyes in relief. The figurine was found with a bone tube (HM5554) which preserved azure pigment inside, a carinated cup and a sea shell (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1987b, 243, no. 5, pl. 42a-b; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 6-7, figs 2, 4, pls 2, 4-5).

Early Cycladic figurines in bone are known from the recent excavations at Akrotiri on Thera (Sotirakopoulou 2008b, 128-9) which is of the folded-arm type, and another from Thebes (Andrikou 1988; this volume). Another, more elaborate type of figurine in bone was found in the Fourni cemetery at Archanes, Crete (Sakellarakis 1972, 336-7, 350-1, pl. 285α; 1977a; 1977b, 151, fig. 143; Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 704-05, figs 813,



Figure 19.1 Schematic figurine (HM5973). Manika, Zoussi plot. Scale 1:2.



Figure 19.2 Schematic figurine. Magoula. Scale 1:2.



Figure 19.3 Bone figurine (HM5419). Manika, Beligianni plot, Tomb 8. Scale 1:2.

815; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2017, 185, 187, cat no. 30, fig. 40) which the excavators place in the Spedos group and Thimme in the postcanonical group (Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 460, 488-9, no. 239), although the comparandum in the British Museum cited by Thimme is comparable stylistically with the Archanes figurine only in respect of the stippled pubic triangle.

The stump-like shaping of the hands and feet on HM5419 recalls schematic examples of the Louros type from Aghios Onoufrios, Crete (Renfrew 1969, 4, fig. 1), while the relief eyes are of the Plastiras type (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1987b, 249; Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, nos 80-81, 84; Sotirakopoulou 2008a, 78). Figurines of this type have been found at Aghios Kosmas (EAM8972: Mylonas 1959, 78, 89 no. 3, fig. 163, 3; Kostanti & Christopoulou this volume, Fig. 4.6) and at Tsepí (Pantelidou Gofa this volume, Fig. 6.4). A figurine from Delpriza, Argolid has some similarities (Kossyva this volume).

4. Schematic figurine of white marble (HM361) (Fig. 19.4).

Manika. Found in 1910.

Height 85 mm

Triangular head with a groove separating it from the oblong body. Another deep groove divides the legs (Papavasileiou 1910, 6, fig. 3; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 6, 11, pl. 2.6). It belongs with the abstract schematic figurines (Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, nos. 56, 60) or the hybrid type (Stampolides & Sotirakopoulou 2007, 38) of the EC I-II period. Such figurines, also known from Skarkos (Marthari 2017, fig. 12.15, Ios cat. no. 1064) and Koukounaries



Figure 19.4 Schematic figurine (HM361). Manika, Papavasileiou excavations. Scale 1:2.



Figure 19.5 Schematic figurine (HM6046). Manika, Beligianni plot, Tomb M. Scale 1:2.

(Katsarou & Schilardi 2017, fig. 28.3), are classified in the Apeiranthos variety. The example from Manika was found in the same tomb as the figurine HM360 of Spedos Type (here, no. 11).

5. Schematic marble figurine (HM6046) (Fig. 19.5).

Manika, Beligianni plot, Tomb M.

Height 50 mm

Found during the 1989 excavations (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1989b, 157; 1991, 8, fig. 2.4, pl. 2.3). In the same tomb were found a frying pan and a figurine of the folded-arm type (cat. no. 6, HM6045). The head of the figurine is round or ovoid, the body oblong (column-shaped), the short legs separated. It shows features of the Apeiranthos variety and the Phylakopi I or Ayia Irini type (Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2007, 39, fig. 45b).

6. Folded-arm figurine (HM6045) (Fig. 19.6).

Manika, Beligianni plot, Tomb M.

Height 100 mm

A rather crude marble figurine of canonical folded-arm type (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1991, 8, 12, pl. 3.3). Head almost triangular, shoulders rounded and slightly sloping, hands indicated by incision above the pubic area which is devoid of sexual characteristics (asexual; Legaki 2017, NM169). For the short legs there are parallels in the Cyclades, like the precanonical idol from Tsikniades in Naxos (Philaniotou 2017, fig. 18.11, NM9157) or the figurine from Kouphonisi of Spedos variety (Gavalas 2017, figs 19.4, 19.5, NM4569). The legs in the Euboean figurine are separated by incision and the feet are rounded. Local variant of early Spedos variety.



Figure 19.6 Folded-arm figurine (HM6045). Manika, Beligianni plot, Tomb M. Scale 1:2.



Figure 19.7 Folded-arm figurine (HM5965). Manika, Papastamatiou plot, Tomb Π. Scale 1:2.

7. Folded-arm figurine (HM5965) (Fig. 19.7).

Manika, Papastamatiou plot, Tomb Π

Height 45 mm

Marble figurine. Head missing (Sampson 1988, no. 155, 5804, 31, pl. 87; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987a, 19, pls 26–27; 1991, 8, 11, pls 3.4–5). Hands and pubic triangle incised. The legs on the back side are separated by incision. Spedos variety. Found in the same tomb as the seated figurine HM5966.

8. Head of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (HM5804) (Fig. 19.8).

Manika, Beligianni plot

Height 93 mm

Head of a large marble Cycladic figurine (Sampson 1988, 155–8, fig. 87; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1991, 8, 11, pls 3.1–2). The long head is backwards-tilting, and the nose triangular: features that characterise the canonical Spedos variety (Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 498; Sotirakopoulou 1998). EC II.

9. Precanonical figurine (HM5957) (Fig. 19.9).

Manika, Papastamatiou plot, Tomb K

Height 160 mm

Found in two pieces (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987a, 17, fig. 6, pls 13–14; 1991, 8, 11, pls 4.1–2; Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2007, 38). Head without details, thick neck. Surface flat. The folded



Figure 19.8 Head of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (HM5804). Manika, Beligianni plot. Scale 1:2.

arms and the pubic triangle are incised. The second arm is not rendered. Gently rounded shoulders. The legs are separated by a thick incision, feet rounded. Related to the early Spedos variety (Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2007, 39; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 127, no. 66). EC II. This figurine could be a local product.

10. Headless female figurine (HM6048) (Fig. 19.10).

Manika, Beligianni plot, Tomb 29

Height 127 mm

Female figurine, lacking head, with pronounced breasts, and the pubic triangle rendered by incised lines. Grooves separate the legs in front and behind (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 8, 11, pl. 5). It was found with two frying pans and the seated figurine no. 12 (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1989b, 157, pl. 97γ). This elegant figurine has the characteristics of the EC I–II precanonical folded-arm figurines (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 136) and is close to the Spedos variety.

11. Precanonical figurine (HM360) (Fig. 19.11).

Manika, Papavasileiou Excavations, Tomb 1

Height 140 mm

Female figurine (Papavasileiou 1910, 3, fig. 2; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 8, 11, pls 4.3–4). Head tilted back, nose triangular. The breasts are rounded. Legs are missing from the knees down. ‘Fleshy’ buttocks. The ‘motion’ of the body recalls the figurine from Avdeli, of Spedos variety (NM2018: Doumas 2017b, fig. 17.6). According to Sotirakopoulou (1998, 136), the Manika figurine is one of three precanonical figurines coming from excavations.

12. Seated figurine (HM5966) (Figs 19.12, 19.13).

Manika, Papastamatiou plot, tomb Π.

Height 37 mm

Figurine seated on a stool. Greenish stone. Found in the same tomb as figurine no. 7, HM5965 (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1987a, 13, 19, pls 19–25; 1991, 8–9, 11, pls 6.1–4). The arms are folded in the manner of the precanonical folded-arm figurine. Extremely interesting is the rendering of the face and hair: hair covers the whole of the skull and on the back of the neck forms a bun. The nose is broad and flat in relief. The eyes are formed by relief



Figure 19.9 Precanonical figurine (HM5957). Manika, Papastamatiou plot, Tomb K. Scale 1:2.



Figure 19.10 Headless female figurine (HM6048). Manika, Beligianni plot, Tomb 29. Scale 1:2.

circles, the eyebrows and mouth by incised lines. This figurine from Manika recalls the general type of the seated female figures of Aplomata (NM5466 and NM5467: Doumas & Lambrinoudakis 2017, figs 15.18–20), the figurine from Ano Kouphonisi (NM10674: Philaniotou 2017, figs 14.9–10) and the figure from Tekke, Crete (Zervos 1956, fig. 113; Renfrew 1969, pl. 9a; Sakellarakis 1977, 151, fig. 146; Sotirakopoulou 2008a, 79, fig. 9.1; Sotirakopoulou & Gavalas 2017, 141–2, fig. 6). The incised details of the face find a



Figure 19.11 Precanonical figurine (HM360). Manika, Papavasileiou excavations, Tomb 1. Scale 1:2.



Figure 19.12 Seated figurine (HM5966). Manika, Papastamatiou plot, tomb Π. Scale 1:2.

parallel in the Cyclades only in the clay figurine from Strophylas on Andros, and in figurine-amulets from Keos (Televantou 2017, no. 11, fig. 5.14). Televantou believes that ‘these data show that the figurine is an ancestor of Early Cycladic figurines, which during the long course of their development preserved and elaborated earlier elements of Neolithic, Cycladic or in some cases wider Aegean figurines’ (Televantou 2017, 46). Some features on the face, like the eyes, find parallels in figurines from Akrotiri on Naxos, of the Plastiras type (NM1994: Doulas 2017a, fig. 6.8).

This Manika figurine is very interesting because it collects features of many types: the rendering of the face is reminiscent of the Plastiras type, the position of the arms is typical of precanonical figurines and it has the posture of the Aplomata figurines (Sotirakopoulou 2008a, 79, fig. 9:11). Some elements, though, are unique, like the arrangement of the hair. The body is bulky, which recalls a standing male figure of the Plastiras type from the cemetery of Phourni at Archanes. The Archanes figurine is also of a greenish stone and squat, like the Manika figurine (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 509–12, figs 495, 499–500). Its facial features are also naturalistic, the flat nose is treated plastically and the mouth and eyebrows are incised. The



Figure 19.13 Detail of seated figurine HM5966. Not to scale.



Figure 19.14 Seated figurine (HM6049). Manika, Beligianni plot. Tomb 29. Scale 1:2.

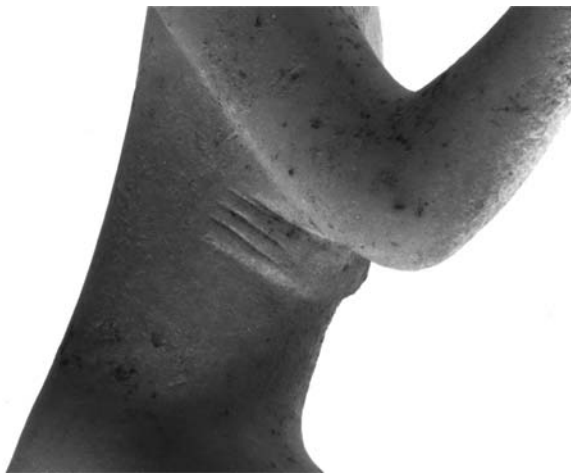


Figure 19.15 Detail of seated figurine HM6049. Not to scale.

general impression allows me to suggest that the two figurines may well have been carved by the same itinerant sculptors (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1991, 9, 11), who could be referred to as the 'Manika-Archanes workshop' (Renfrew 2017 for tradition or workshops), although such an inference is fraught with dangers. Perhaps instead there was an exchange network.

13. *Seated figurine (HM6049)* (Figs 19.14, 19.15).

Manika, Beligianni plot, Tomb 29

Height 108 mm

Found with figurine no. 10 (HM6048) and two frying pans (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1989b, 157, pl. 97d; 1991, 8–11, pls 7.1–4). Marble figurine seated on a stool with the feet crossed and the right arm projecting freely in order to hold something, the left bent in horizontal position. The fingers are denoted by long parallel thin incisions. Long deep incision denotes the spine. The head is missing.

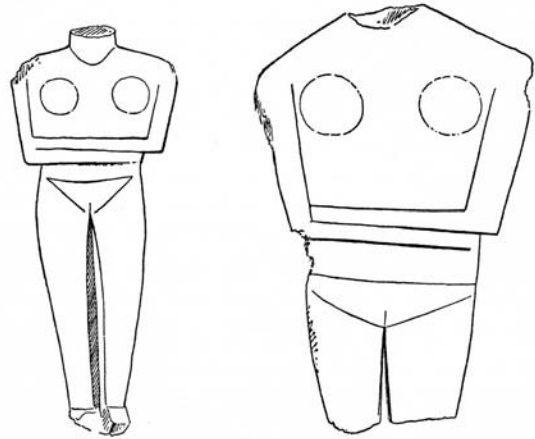


Figure 19.16 Styra, two folded-arm figurines (Wolters 1891, 54–5).



Figure 19.17 Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (EM19448). Eretria. Not to scale.

This figurine finds parallels in those of Aplomata (Kontoleon 1970, 150–1, pls 194β–γ; Getz-Preziosi 1987, 61, fig. 30; Marangou 1990, 155–7, nos 162–3; Sotirakopoulou 2008a, 79, fig. 9:11; Doumas & Lambrinoudakis 2017, figs 15.18–20, 15.25).

14. *Torso to pelvis of folded-arm figurine (MK1252)* (Kosma 2010; this volume, Fig 21.5).

Styra, South Euboea.

Height 108 mm

Marble figurine whose head and legs are missing. According to the excavator, the figurine represents the canonical folded-arm type (Renfrew 1969) and belongs to the Keros-Syros culture. It

seems that it is an intermediate type between late Spedos and early Dokathismata variety (Sotirakopoulou 2008a).

15. *Head of a figurine (MK1251)* (Kosma 2010; this volume, Fig. 21.4).

Styra, South Euboea.

The head of a Cycladic figurine of the Dokathismata variety, from Nea Styra (Kosma this volume).

16–17. *Two folded-arm figurines* (Fig. 19.16).

Styra, South Euboea.

Two marble figurines unearthed at the end of the 19th century, for which we have only Wilhelm's drawings and not a complete picture. They belong to the Spedos variety (Wolters 1891, 54–5).

18. *Folded-arm figurine of the Spedos variety (EM19448)* (Fig. 19.17).

Eretria.

Female Cycladic figurine with folded arms, of the Spedos variety. The head and the lower part of the legs are missing. It was found in an unclear context (Kaltsas *et al.* 2010, 93, fig. 6).

The discovery of Cycladic objects, especially Cycladic figurines or their imitations, in tombs or in settlements indicates the existence of colonies in some areas of Euboea (Manika, Styra etc) or of simple 'emporeia' and the important role that the islanders played during the Early Bronze Age period. It seems that the people of the Cyclades formed a strong power throughout the Bronze Age. In one of my first publications (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1971, 224–6), I suggested that the inscriptions of the 16th- and 15th-century BC tombs of Thebes in Egypt (the tombs of Senmut, Rehmire and others) mentioning 'Keftiu' and the people in the middle of the sea or in the middle of the Great Green', refer to the Cretans ('Keftiu') and the sailors of the Aegean ('the people of the Great Green').

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MANIKA REVISITED: A RECONTEXTUALISATION OF EUBOEAN CYCLADICA IN THE LIGHT OF NEW RESEARCH

Adamantios Sampson and Athena Hadji

Introduction

Sites with finds of Cycladic character in mainland Greece are mostly located in Attica and Euboea. A small number can be considered Cycladic permanent or temporary emporia of no particular interest (Agia Marina, Varkiza; Aghios Kosmas); others are Helladic settlements with strong Cycladic influences (Manika; Marathon); a third category comprises purely Helladic settlements with very few imported Cycladic objects (Askitario; Rafina; Aigina). Since many finds are sporadic, it is premature to judge the character of each settlement as Cycladic or not. Besides, the Cycladic settlement pattern is not easy to document even in the Cyclades, where the number of known excavated cemeteries exceeds the number of settlements by far.

Although on Euboea more than 80 Early Helladic sites have been located (Sampson 1980), Cycladic finds, such as frying-pans and stone (mostly marble) vessels, are rarely reported (for example, at Makrikapa, Avlonari and Agia Triada). It is interesting to note that Early Cycladic figurines have been unearthed so far at Eretria (Reber *et al.* 2008), Magoula (Nikolopoulos 2015), Manika (Sampson 1987; 2016a; 2016b; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987; 1991), and Styra (Wolters 1891; Kosma 2010; this volume). The latter two sites are extended settlements of the 3rd

millennium. Both are located in close proximity to the sea, part of the old sea route connecting the south with north Aegean passing through the Euboean Gulf (Sampson 1999; 2008). Unfortunately, the second site has not been systematically excavated as yet and only a few graves from the corresponding cemetery were excavated (Kosma 2010; this volume); therefore it is still too soon to assess the significance of Cycladic presence there.

In the current contribution, we present a complete list of sculpture, anthropomorphic and otherwise, belonging to or echoing Early Cycladic types from Sampson's two excavation seasons at Manika in the 1980s.

The forerunners

First, Wolters, along with *that* Amorgos marble head that gave the impetus for the *ad perpetuum* infamous quote 'dieser abstossend hässliche Kopf' (Wolters 1891, 46: 'this repulsively ugly head'), mentions three marble EC figurines from Styra (1891, 54–5). He acknowledges that he knows them only from drawings (Fig. 19.16; Kosma 2010, for discussion).

The first systematic excavation and publication of Early Bronze Age Euboean material was Papavasileiou in 1910

(after a brief inspection by Tsountas). Excavating in Manika near Chalkis, from a total of c. 50 ('περί τοὺς πενήκοντα') graves, Papavasileiou discovered, among other Cycladica (marble bowls and ceramic frying-pans), two marble figurines: one female of the folded-arm type (Fig. 19.11), and one schematic (Fig. 19.4).

Manika: the site and the excavation

Manika, north of modern Chalkis, was revealed through Sampson's extensive excavation of the habitation and cemetery sites to have been a prosperous proto-urban centre throughout the Early Bronze Age (Sampson 2016a; 2016b). Manika was a flourishing Early Helladic settlement, impressive in size, today partially submerged or built over. Erosion, later building activity and sea-level rises since the 3rd millennium BC contribute to our inability to assess accurately the size of both the Manika settlement and the adjoining cemetery.

The character of the settlement was mostly Helladic. Cycladic influences are limited, mostly in EB II, while Anatolian influences predominate during EB III. Affinities with both the Cyclades (EB II) and Anatolia (EB III) were manifest in the ceramic and metal repertoire, while the Cyclades are further referenced in a series of stone finds, both vessels and figurines. No figurines were discovered in the settlement area. The cemetery consisted of rows of rock-cut chamber tombs. The tombs comprised a burial chamber (the deceased, where this can be assessed due to the extremely fragmentary condition of the bones found in the tombs, was buried in a crouched position) and a dromos. A total of 189 graves were excavated by Sampson in two excavation seasons. Some 48 out of 189 graves exhibited artefacts characteristic of the Cycladic repertoire. Two anthropomorphic figurines, a pig-shaped base of a stone vessel, a terracotta zoomorphic vessel and a vessel with an animal-shaped handle are the figurines unearthed by Sampson that we present here. It is important to note that not a single figurine (anthropomorphic or otherwise) comes from the settlement.

Recent finds

Since Sampson's excavations at Manika (Sampson 2016b), new evidence has emerged, mostly from survey work in southwest Euboea (Cullen *et al.* 2011; Mavridis & Tankosić 2009; Reber *et al.* 2008; Talalay *et al.* 2017). In 2007, the excavation of the Agia Triada cave yielded, among other LN finds, a ceramic vessel with an anthropomorphic 'protome' [sic] in lieu of a handle, strikingly reminiscent of earlier

EC figurines (Mavridis & Tankosić 2009, 49, fig. 2, with parallels from the Cyclades; Cullen *et al.* 2011), as well as finds of Cycladic character (Tankosić 2017) from the EB II strata. New EC II figurines (an impressive number thereof compared with what has come to light since the 19th century: Kosma this volume; in addition, rich finds of the Cycladic repertoire) come from EB II graves at Styra, where, as already mentioned, EC figurines had been reported in the 19th century. One new figurine was unearthed in Eretria (Reber *et al.* 2008) from the deepest strata of the Acropolis area.

In conclusion, in the light of new evidence since Sampson's work in the 1980s, the emergent picture is of a more densely inhabited southern Euboea in the late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (Talalay *et al.* 2017; Tankosić 2017). However, at least thus far, the number of sites with EC finds beyond the south of the island has not increased markedly. Sampson's original conclusion was that the Cycladic influence in Euboea, while significant, had been overstressed (Sampson 1988, 113–19). This conclusion seems to still stand, perhaps with the exception of the Karystia region, as has emerged from surface surveys conducted in the past few years (Tankosić 2017): the discovery of new Cycladic specimens (mostly sculpture) does not imply an extensive presence or control of Euboean territory, trade, and culture *in toto*; rather it points toward a preference for coveted Cycladic imports and local interpretations thereof.

The presence of Cycladic objects or their possible local imitations in Euboea could be explained by trade contacts in the 3rd millennium between mainland Greece and the Cyclades, analogous to the contacts between Anatolia and the northern (and to some extent southern) Aegean. Still, the establishment of permanent Cycladic settlements cannot be demonstrated for mainland Greece, where the Helladic character of settlements is very strong. Thus, the explanation for the presence of Cycladic objects in the Manika tombs cannot be the presence of a Cycladic population in the Early Helladic settlement. Rather, the coveted imported Keros-Syros objects, found in comparatively few tombs that tend to be the richest in the cemetery, indicate the status of the deceased. In a similar manner, the rich tombs of EH III (Kastri group) contain objects of Anatolian origin, such as the characteristic beak-spouted jugs. In this phase, the import of Cycladic objects ceases and strong movements in the Aegean and contacts with northwest Asia Minor and the northern Aegean commence. In other words, to quote Theodorakis (1959, 280): 'Euboea seems destined by nature not only to connect various geographic locations, but also to *compose* [sic] various cultural influences'.



Figure 20.1 Head of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.



Figure 20.2 Marble schematic figurine. Scale 1:2.

EB II sculpture from Manika

Note that due the transfer of objects to the newly opened museum of Chalkis, a request for a new inspection of the Manika sculpture could not be accommodated. Thus, Hadji has not had the opportunity to inspect the artefacts, and descriptions are based on published photographs.

Anthropomorphic

Two marble figurines were found as follows:

Marble head of canonical figurine, Spedos variety (HM5804) (Fig. 20.1).

Tomb 155

Parallels: Sotirakopoulou 2005, 93, 5a, 5b; Thimme 1977, 254, 267, nos 136, 162.

Roughly based on a head-to-body ratio, this fragmentary figurine would have been c. 300 mm when complete. It is a fine specimen of the Spedos variety of the canonical folded-arm type. It combines all features of the type in perfection: lyre-shaped head; slight tilt to the back; possible indication of headgear or hair; nose rendered in relief; facial features other than nose painted-on. The artefact shows definite traces of paint applied on surface to denote eyes. No detectable traces of paint. Found in the dromos of the tomb.

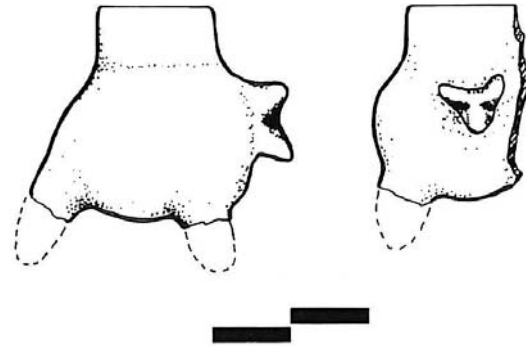


Figure 20.3 Zoomorphic handle of a clay vessel.

Marble schematic figurine, Apeiranthos type (Fig 20.2).

Tomb 168

Parallels: Thimme 1977, 230, nos 60, 61

The figurine echoes the Apeiranthos type, without conforming to the type in its entirety. There is clear definition of the head as separate from the body. The body is not rendered as a solid rectangle. There is provision for the definition of arms as stumps. What it shares with the Apeiranthos type is the effort to expand in the third dimension, distancing itself from the flatness so characteristic of the spade type. The gender is unclear. Such sculpture raises questions about our contemporary projections of gender division and demarcation onto Early Bronze Age sculpture (Hadji 2016).

Zoomorphic

Besides the marble figurines, three zoomorphic vessels complete the sculpture from Sampson's excavations at Manika. The zoomorphic sculptures echo Cycladic forms, such as the clay hedgehog from Chalandriani (Syros), now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (EAM6176: Zervos 1957, 180–1, pls 238–9; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2017, fig 21.19).

Zoomorphic handle of a clay vessel (Fig. 20.3)

Tomb 100

Possibly a bull's head.

Zoomorphic steatite vessel (Figs 20.4, 20.5)

Tomb 129

43 mm × 25 mm

Steatite (green). A fragmentary miniature zoomorphic tripod vessel in the shape of a pig's head. Incised linear decoration culminating in two spirals on the top of the animal's head.

Miniature zoomorphic clay vessel (Fig. 20.6)

Tomb 139

Coarse clay with brown slip. A miniature zoomorphic vessel shaped like a sheep. The animal is rendered in a naturalistic way and is carrying the vessel on its back.

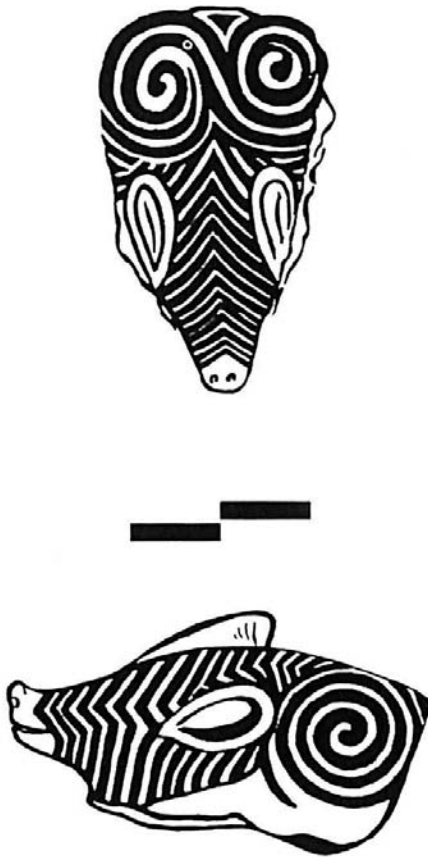


Figure 20.4 Zoomorphic steatite vessel.



Figure 20.5 Zoomorphic steatite vessel.

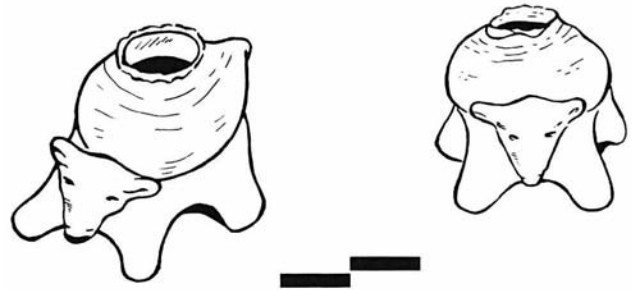


Figure 20.6 Miniature zoomorphic clay vessel.

Conclusion

The finds are too few to allow for any interpretation beyond the obvious, that they were deliberately set aside and chosen to accompany the deceased. The placement of the five artefacts discussed above in the tombs is also not indicative of any pattern as far as the location and orientation as concerned. Moreover, there seems to be no correlation of specific finds with the gender of the buried individuals. A secure conclusion is that grave goods of Cycladic or 'Cycladicising' character tend to be placed in the same grave. Those graves (48 out of 189) belong to the richest in the entire cemetery (at least the excavated part).

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CYCLADIC MARBLE FIGURINES FROM THE EARLY BRONZE AGE CEMETERY AT NEA STYRA, EUBOEAE¹

Maria Kosma

History of research

Our knowledge of the prehistoric settlement of Nea Styra, a settlement that has been characterised as a centre of Early Bronze Age Euboea second only to Manika (Sampson 1985, 373–4), until recently relied exclusively on the findings of field surveys conducted in the region by Greek archaeologists and foreign expeditions during the 1950s (Theocharis 1959, 309), 1960s (Sackett *et al.* 1966, no. 88) and 1980s (Sampson 1980, 128, no. 36, 218, 246, no. 136). However, the site had already been recorded since the end of the 19th century, when three Cycladic sculptures of the canonical type turned up as chance finds (Wolters 1891, 54–5; Fig. 19.16). Thereafter, Nea Styra is mentioned in all articles and books that deal with the distribution of Cycladic sculptures outside the Cyclades (Renfrew 1972, fig. 20.5, 16; Sampson 1985, 332–3; Sakellarakis 1987, 233–64; Sampson 1988, 116–17; Catapoti 2011, fig. 1). In Renfrew's book (1972), the location of Nea Styra is erroneously indicated further to the south, in the region of the Marmari Gulf; the same error is reproduced in many subsequent publications.

Although excavation data on the extent and character of the prehistoric settlement are not available, judging from the results of field surveys, it is evident that the settlement stretched along the coast, in the lowland area at the entrance to the bay of Nea Styra, at the coastal sites of Lefka and Trochalos, where visible architectural remains

were located. It is noteworthy that the building remains at Trochalos are now submerged, due to sea-level rise, which in certain parts of the Euboean coastline has reached more than 5 m since prehistoric times (Papageorgiou 2002, 277–8). The availability of arable land, combined with the low hills suitable for animal husbandry that are situated a little further inland, as well as access to maritime resources, must have made the region all the more attractive in the eyes of the Early Bronze Age people (Betancourt 2008, 237).

No matter how well-informed I was about the earlier occurrence of the first three marble Cycladic sculptures, my enthusiasm was piqued when, in the summer of 2008, as part of an official construction inspection carried out by the Archaeological Service, two fragments of marble Cycladic sculptures of the canonical type came to light: a fragmentary head of the Dokathismata variety (Fig. 21.4), and a torso with part of the thighs of the same typological variety (Fig. 21.5).

The sculptures were located on the Gissouri hill, a knoll just a short distance from the sea, on which part of the modern settlement extends. The hill retains the older name of the modern settlement of Nea Styra, founded in 1895 as the seaport of Styra, the latter being a settlement of the late Ottoman period, lying about 4 km further inland. In all probability, its name is a corruption of the word 'kissouri', used in the region of South Karystia to indicate the stalky shrub *Erica manipuliflora* (heather), which grows locally and

from which honey of excellent quality is harvested, known as *ereikomelo* (heather honey).

The rescue excavation that was undertaken soon after unearthed three built shaft graves of the Early Bronze Age (Gr.1–Gr.3) with a fourth, destroyed and only partially excavated. These contained a total of 14 fragmentary sculptures of various sizes, all of which are assigned to the canonical type of figurines with folded arms, according to the typological classification proposed by Renfrew in his 1969 article (Renfrew 1969).

The archaeological research of the graves was completed in 2013, with the kind sponsorship of the Psyche Foundation, and brought to light two more fragments of marble sculptures, raising the total to 16 specimens. Almost all the categories of Cycladic sculpture that characterise the mature phase of the Early Bronze Age (the Keros-Syros culture) are represented in this assemblage of 16 fragments.

Rescue excavations carried out up until 2009 by the 11th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in the area of Lefka focused on the habitation phase of historic times, revealing the remains of two buildings of the late Hellenistic-early Roman period (Chidioglou 2010, 24), without, however, producing evidence of the Early Bronze Age phase.

Unfortunately, we know nothing specific about the discovery of the first three Cycladic sculptures, recovered in the 19th century. It has been argued that they must have been found in the coastal area of Lefka (Sackett *et al.* 1966, 80), on the basis of the evidence obtained from field surveys. This view was then adopted by almost all of the scholars who dealt with the site of Nea Styra. A different opinion is held by Calligas (1983, 88–94) who suggested that they were located in graves. Judging from the evidence of the recent excavations, the findspot of the first three Cycladic sculptures has to remain unclear, as it is not at all certain whether they were located in the area of Lefkas or at the foot of the hill where the first graves were uncovered. The evidence we have at our disposal is confined to a brief report in the initial publication (Wolters 1891, 54–5) and the drawings of two of them (Fig. 21.1).

According to the information supplied by the Head of the Department for the Management of the Historic Archive of Antiquities and Restorations in the Ministry of Culture, Mrs Athina Chatzidimitriou (pers. comm.), one of these sculptures is currently in Athens, kept in Mrs Eleni Kriezoti's private collection, while the location of the others is unknown; at the time of its publication, one belonged to Mr Sarantis Dimitriou.

Typology of the graves

Two out of the three graves (Gr.1 and Gr.3) belong to a type that differs as much from that of the simple cist

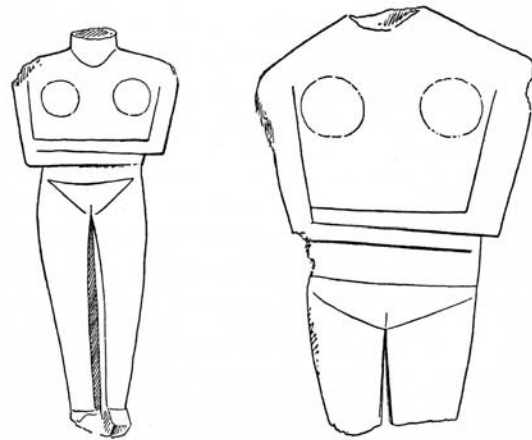


Figure 21.1 Two of the folded arm figurines which were found as chance finds in the 19th century (after Wolters 1891).

grave, constructed with monolithic slabs in upright position, as from the rock-cut chamber type that we see at Manika (Sampson 1985, 206–08; Sapouna-Sakellari 1987, 256–9; Sampson 1988, 34–41) and in neighbouring Boeotia (Aravantinos & Psaraki 2011, 401–13). The type of grave encountered at Nea Styra has not yet been located in any other area of Euboea, southern Euboea included, where the only occurrence of a grave is that recorded at Aghia Pelagia at Karystos (Cullen *et al.* 2013, 95–6). This grave is a simple cist, showing similarities to examples from the Cyclades (Tsountas 1898, 141–2; Doumas 1977, fig. 32, g,h,i) and Makrykapa in central Euboea, where in the 1950s Theocharis excavated cist graves that contained some of the marble vases now on display in the Museum of Chalkis (Theocharis 1959, 308).

The ground plan of this particular type comprises a chamber of trapezoidal or rectangular shape, its sides lined with squared schist slabs of varying size. It is approached by a short stepped passage, its steps being similarly stone-paved, the entrance is flanked by antae (pilasters), and the aperture blocked by a schist slab in upright position. Unfortunately, neither grave preserves its roof. The natural rock (marl) into which the shafts were cut had been levelled to be used as a floor.

The third grave (Gr.2) belongs to another type, as indicated by its different ground plan, with a succession of two spaces, chamber and antechamber. The transition between chamber and antechamber, as well as between antechamber and entrance, is marked by a pair of built pilasters (antae). A schist slab that stands in its original place above the entrance pilasters denotes the manner in which the grave's roof was constructed. As in the previous case, a stretch of natural rock, roughly levelled, served as a floor. This specific type of grave has close



Figure 21.2 Marble bowls and pyxides from the Nea Styra graves.

similarities with rock-cut tombs in the Cyclades (Melos, Ano Kouphonisi) and Crete (Betancourt 2008, 237–40), while the similarity is strengthened by the occurrence, to the north of its entrance, of a pit hewn into the natural rock in which skeletons and funerary offerings were located.

Burial customs

The graves of Nea Styra can be characterised as for multiple use, since they do not contain the burial of just one individual. In none of the three tombs was it possible to identify the last burial and, therefore, we know neither the position the dead were buried in nor the places of the funerary objects in relation to the deceased's body. The graves are laid out on a low hill, rather close to the sea, as is often the case with Early Bronze Age cemeteries in the Cyclades. At Nea Styra the orientation of each grave differs from that of the other. However, this specific feature should not be considered to be a peculiarity, as a similar instance was reported by Clon Stephanos from the site of Phyrroges on Naxos (Doulas 1977, 35).

The objects recovered from the graves speak of strong influences from the Cyclades. They include abundant fragments of marble bowls and pyxides of various types (Fig. 21.2), a fragment of marble palette, and bone tubes, as well as the fragments of figurines. With regard to the figurines, their similarity with examples from the Cyclades, classifiable as they are into the same types and subcategories, leaves no room for questioning their provenance. Moreover, in the light of the recent discoveries, the older view, according to which the three figurines of Nea Styra published by Wolters (as well as similar examples from Aghios Kosmas, Brauron and Manika) were considered of Cycladic type, but not directly comparable with their

Cycladic prototypes (Sampson 1988, 117), proves to be outdated.

The scattering of bones and objects over the entire extent of Gr. 1, their location at different levels, combined with the fragmentary state of the objects and absence of a main burial, are elements that support identification of the grave as an ossuary. Pointing to an opposite interpretation is the occurrence of articulated bones and small human bones (phalanges, tarsals and metatarsals), recorded in the preliminary results of the on-going osteological study conducted by Eleanna Prevedorou, who is also studying, in parallel, part of the osteological material from Marinatos' excavations at Tsepi, Marathon.

Sampson (1985, 219) mentions that in the Cyclades, in graves of multiple use, it was common practice to cover earlier burials with stone slabs. The same practice is observed in Gr.1, since skulls were found under schist slabs, while long bones and skulls were located pushed aside in the corners of the chamber. The presence of some burnt bones recalls similar instances in the graves of Manika (Sampson 1988, 48) without, however, constituting evidence of cremating the dead inside the grave.

Of particular interest is the occurrence of schist slabs within the grave passage, a feature observed, as a rule, in graves of the Cyclades. The fragmentary state of preservation in which most of the Gr.1 objects were found relates to funerary practices that until now were not considered to be typical of Cycladic cemeteries (Broodbank 2000, 228), opening the way for the reconsideration of data obtained from older instances, such as the largest known example of the Special Deposits of Keros (Renfrew, Boyd & Marthari this volume). At this point, it should be stressed that intentional breakage of funerary offerings, as a practice, is unknown at Manika, a cemetery studied in greater detail.

Gr.2 and Gr.3 are adjacent to one another, but they lie at different levels, as indicated by the final depth of their floors. This piece of evidence, in combination with their difference in typology and orientation, leads to the supposition that the two graves were not constructed simultaneously. While it is not easy to pinpoint which one predates the other, the occurrence in Gr.3 of a *depas amphikypellon* (Fig. 21.3), a diagnostic shape of the 'Lefkandi I group', leaves open the possibility that it postdates Gr.2, although both graves, on the basis of the material they contained, are assigned to the mature phase of the Early Bronze Age II. All in all, there is no differentiation in funerary practices, a fact that in other cases, such as the graves at Manika, has been interpreted as evidence for continuity (Sampson 1988, 58). A layer of pebbles is used to differentiate any preceding burial from the following one.



Figure 21.3 *Depas amphikypellon* from Grave 3.

The site of Nea Styra

The choice of this specific site, at the entrance of the sheltered bay of Nea Styra, on the sea route running along the Gulf of Euboea, is not accidental. The Gulf of Euboea has been an exceptionally favoured coastal zone, frequented throughout prehistoric and historic times, as it offers to mariners the opportunity to move along the north-south axis, escaping the perils of the open Aegean Sea. Its nodal role in the communication network that had developed in the Aegean during the Early Bronze Age is demonstrated by the number of sites of all sizes located along the coastline of both the mainland and of Euboea.

Hence access to the Euboean coastline played a part in the location of the three sites regarded as the most important Early Bronze Age centres of Euboea, namely Manika, Lefkandi and Nea Styra. The position of Nea Styra on the sea route along the southern Gulf of Euboea and its local and inter-regional connections with other communities, combined with the evidence of funerary practices involving the deposition of prestige objects, suggest a community that bears all the characteristics of the major Cycladic centres. As these strategic locations were chosen to control communication, their growth must be conceptualised within the determining system of regimes of value (Broodbank 2000, 262; Appadurai 1986). However, as so far we know little about the prehistoric settlement, as noted above, and the number of excavated graves is few, we are not in a position to formulate final conclusions regarding the features of the settlement centre of Nea Styra. Advancing the study of this material, in conjunction with the completion of the excavation, are requisites for bringing the research stage to an end, something that will greatly contribute to the final publication of the finds.

Catalogue

Most of the figurines came from Gr.1, while a smaller number was found in the remaining graves. For their classification the typological scheme proposed by C. Renfrew (1969) was adopted.

I. Sculptures of the Dokathismata variety

I.1. Part of head of a sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK1251) (Fig. 21.4).

Height: 26 mm; maximum upper width 27 mm; maximum thickness at nose 12 mm

Gissouri, Nea Styra, Gr.1, E6

Translucent white marble, surface unpolished.

Lower part of head missing, as a result of a fracture across the head right under the nose line. Three small scratches on the left cheek.

Head tilting backwards, triangular in shape. The large hooked nose begins high up, at about the forehead line.

Kosma 2010, 33–4.

1.2. Torso to upper legs of a sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK1252) (Fig. 21.5).

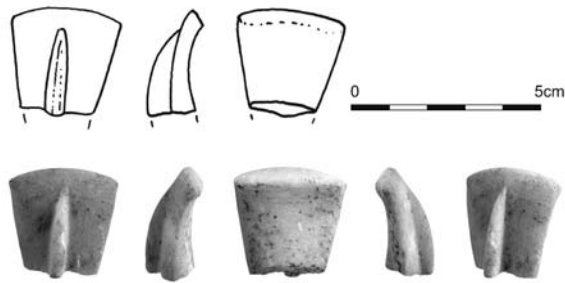


Figure 21.4 Part of head of a sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK1251). Grave 1, Nea Styra. Scale 1:2.

Maximum preserved height 108.4 mm; maximum width at shoulders 92 mm; maximum thickness at buttocks 18 mm

Gissouri, Nea Styra: the sculpture turned up in the trial trenches opened by mechanical digger at the site where Gr.1 was revealed during the 2009 excavation period.

Coarse-grained white marble with grey veins.

Mended from two fragments. Oblique fracture between the upper arms. Slightly flaked around the fracture. Head and lower limbs below the pelvis missing. Chipped on both shoulders.

The trapezoidal torso has characteristically broad and angular shoulders. A V-shaped incision marks the dividing line between high neck and body. The conical breasts are widely spaced apart, the left placed slightly higher than the right. The hands, in compliance with the canonical posture, are folded under the chest, without indication of the fingers. Shallow grooves define the upper arms only on the front side. The outline of the body is curvilinear, from the waist down to the preserved top of the thighs. The broad pubic triangle takes over almost the entire pelvis area, while right through its apex runs the cleft that divides the legs, forming also the vulva. The slightly bulging belly is further emphasised by the arched position of the forearms over it.

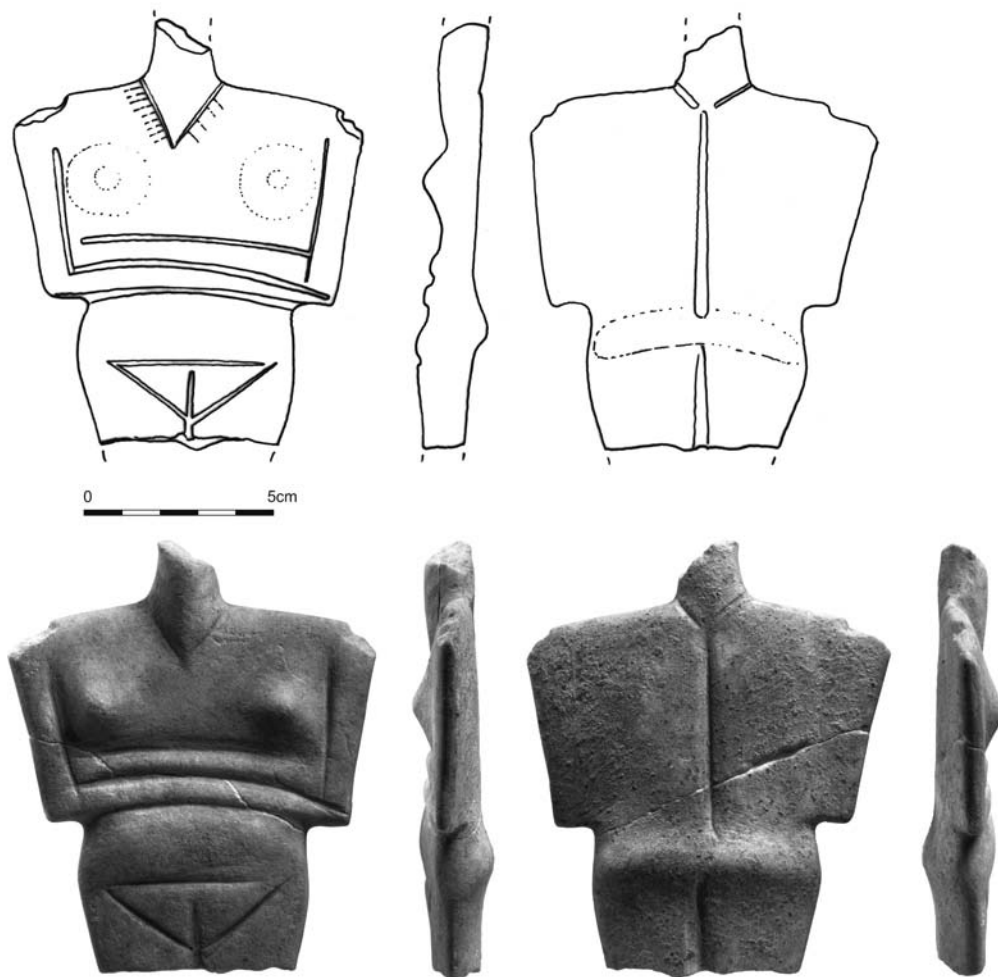


Figure 21.5 Torso to upper legs of a sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK1252). Grave 1, Nea Styra. Scale 1:2.

On the rear, as the upper arms are barely divided from the torso, a large uniform surface is created, which is disrupted only by a groove down the spinal column and a shallow V-shaped incision at the base of the neck. The lower part of the torso is taken up by the sharply angular buttocks, which are positioned higher than the pubic triangle on the front, a feature observed on quite a few specimens of the Dokathismata variety. A groove also marks the division of the lower limbs, not aligned with that indicating the spinal column.

The Nea Styra figurine shares similarities with those sculptures that Getz-Preziosi has attributed to the 'Schuster sculptor' (Kosma 2010, 32–3). In accordance to the proposition that was adopted in the recent symposium on Cycladic figurines in context, held in Athens in 2014, figurine MK1252 is assigned to the 'Akrotiri subvariety', showing distinct similarities to the torso from the Special Deposit North at Kavos on Keros, today kept in the Archaeological Museum of Naxos (NM4186: Sotirakopoulou *et al.* 2017).

Kosma 2010, 31–3.

I.3. Almost intact sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3031) (Fig. 21.6).

Maximum preserved height 135 mm; maximum width at shoulders 40 mm; maximum thickness at belly 11 mm

Gissouri, Nea Styra: Gr.1, stratum 3, layer 5, E 96 and stratum 3, layer 6, E 107

White marble of excellent quality, variegated in colour due to the occurrence of surface residues that have been removed during conservation. Front side polished, back side unpolished.

Head and part of neck, part of right shoulder and right upper arm missing. Part of right foot missing also. Mended from three different fragments.

The top part of the torso is rectanguloid, its upper side defined by the broad shoulders and its lower one by the figure's folded forearms, curving over the abdomen to further emphasise its protrusion, indicating pregnancy. The rendering of the upper arms and forearms is cursory. The two conical breasts are spaced apart. Characteristic is the absence of any effort to form the curve of the waist. The pubic triangle is outlined by three incisions and occupies the entire surface of the pelvis. The shallow cleft that divides the lower limbs projects deep into the pubic triangle to indicate the vulva. A shallow groove is used to denote the ankle joints.

On the rear, a continuous groove runs perpendicularly down the entire body, from the back of the neck to the lower feet, denoting the spinal column and differentiating the lower limbs from one another. The spinal groove continues into the triangular incision at the base of the neck. Deep grooves are used to separate the upper arms from the torso of the figurine.

Particularly interesting is the rendering of the back side that appears as a perfectly flat surface, on which not even the angular protuberance of the buttocks is indicated.

The toes are not indicated. It should be noted that the markedly curved manner in which the lower feet are modelled is totally different from that observed on equivalent examples of both the Dokathismata and Spedos variety. Their rendering, to a certain extent, bears similarity to a specimen from the Erlenmeyer private

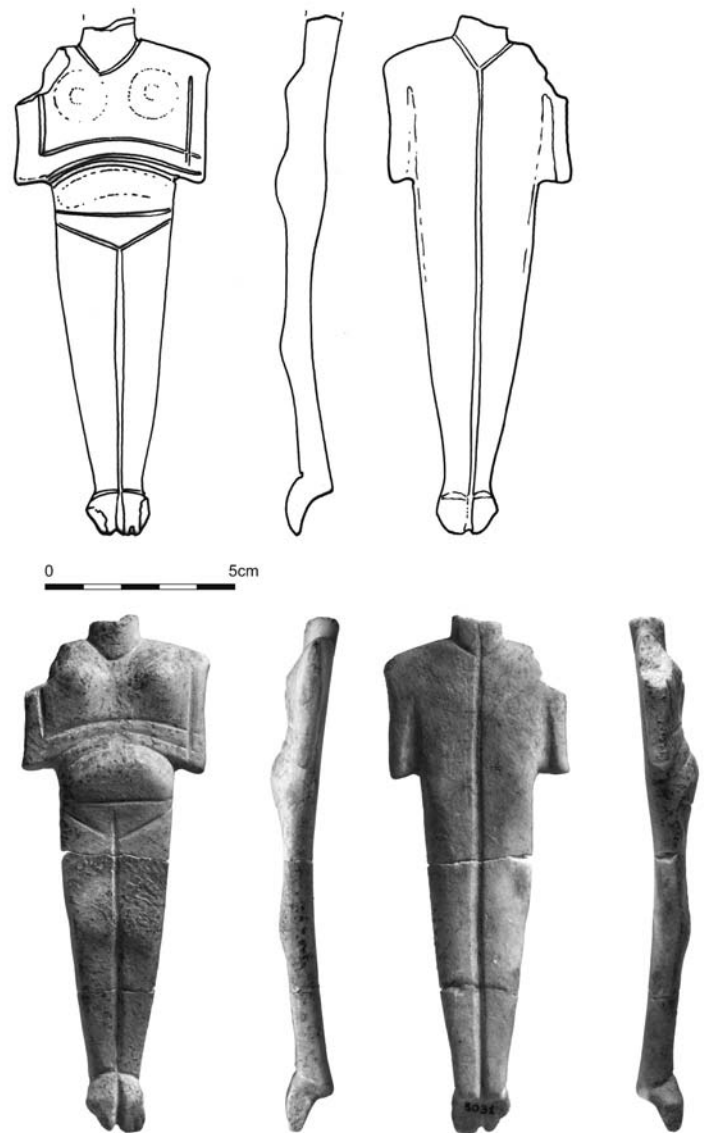


Figure 21.6 Almost intact sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3031). Grave 1, Nea Styra. Scale 1:2.

collection (no. 109: Doumas 2000, 177, no. 277; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 109), which belongs to the Spedos variety. Previously unpublished.

I.4. Head of a sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3033) (Fig. 21.7).

Maximum preserved height 75 mm; maximum width at the upper part of head 55 mm; maximum thickness at the nose, 23 mm; neck diameter 20 mm

Gissouri, Nea Styra: Gr.1, stratum 3, layer 3, E 41
Medium-grained white marble.

The right upper part of the head damaged in antiquity. The forehead above the level of the nose slightly flaked in places. A small part of the lower tip of the nose missing.

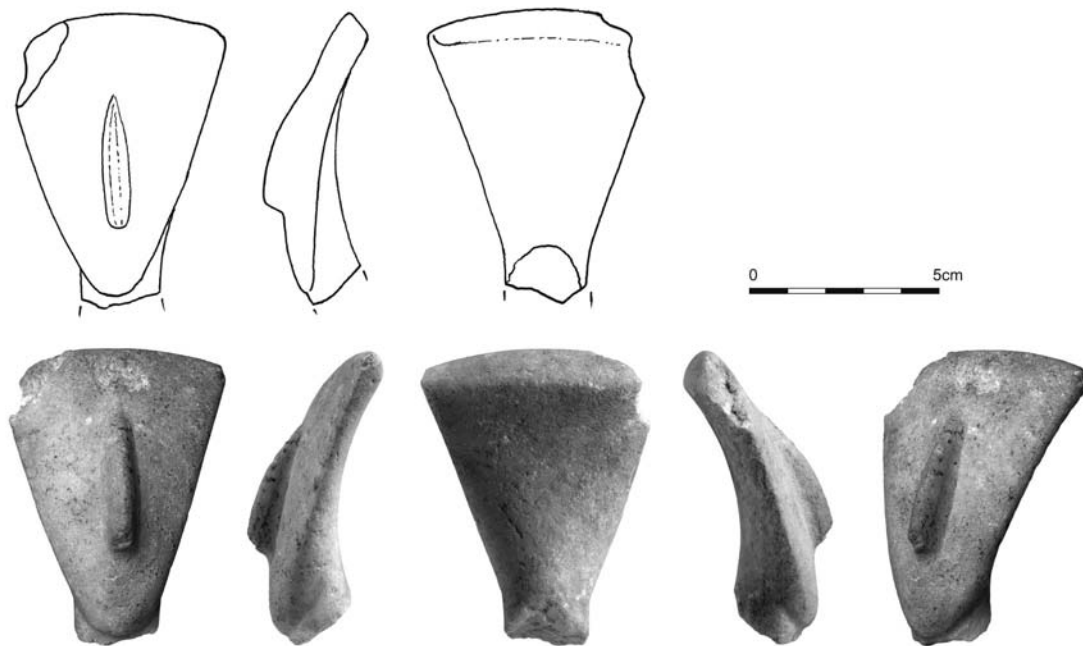


Figure 21.7 Head of a sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3033). Grave 1, Nea Styra. Scale 1:2.

Head of a Cycladic marble sculpture of the Dokathismata variety, tilting sharply upwards. The large hooked nose dominates the face. Previously unpublished.

I.5. Part of pubic triangle and left thigh of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3039) (Fig. 21.8).

Maximum preserved height 56 mm; maximum width 68 mm; maximum thickness 12 mm
Gissouri, Nea Styra: Gr.3, layer 5, E 177
White marble of rather high translucency. Front side polished, back side unpolished. Preserving two oblique incisions that outline the pubic triangle and the incision indicating the vulva at the apex of the triangle. The preserved part of the left thigh is not at all curving, rendered completely flat. The fragment must have belonged to a figurine of large dimensions. Previously unpublished.

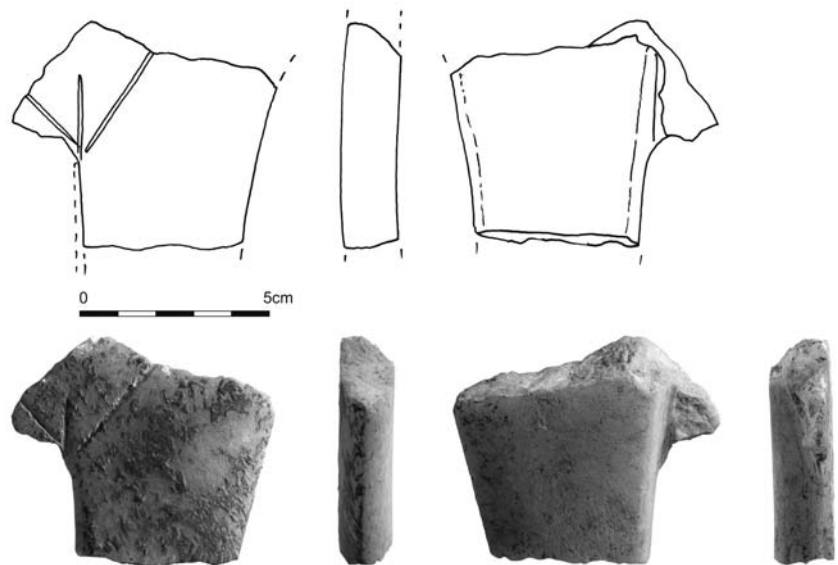


Figure 21.8 Part of pubic triangle and left thigh of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3039). Grave 3, Nea Styra. Scale 1:2.

I.6. Part of right lower leg of marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3032) (Fig. 21.9).

Maximum preserved height 126 mm; maximum preserved width 43 mm; maximum thickness 25 mm
Gissouri, Nea Styra: Gr.1, stratum 3, layer 4, area Δ, cluster Λ8 (E 23)
Marble.
Old fractures at the upper and lower end. Extensive traces of residue on the front.

A band in high relief on the front indicates the knee cap and a shallow groove on the posterior marks the knee joint. An undulation observed in the marble, high up the thigh, is a vestige of the carving process with the use of saw, and the traces of the tool's scratches are visible.

With regard to the rendering of the knee, the leg recalls an example that is not associated with a secure excavation context, now kept in the Archaeological Museum of Israel (see Thimme

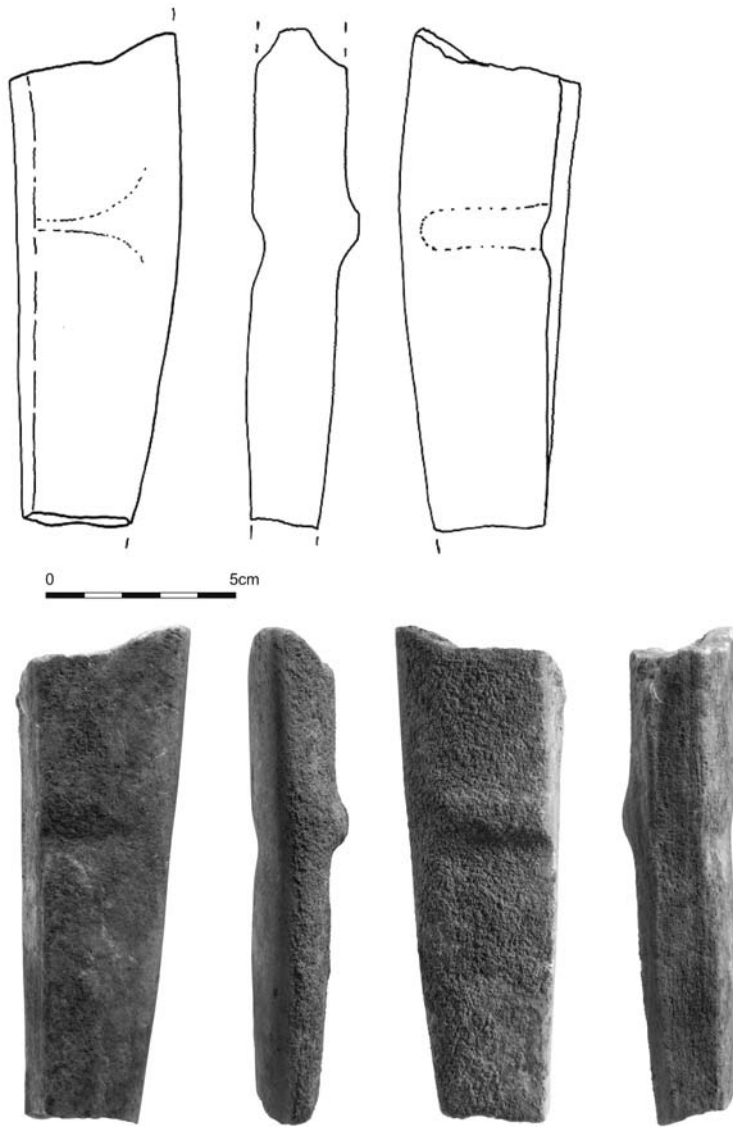


Figure 21.9 Part of right lower leg of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3032). Grave 1, Nea Styra. Scale 1:2.

& Getz-Preziosi 1977, nos 219, 489). It also shows similarities to the part of a right leg from a marble Cycladic figurine of the Spedos variety (NM8986), found in 1967 in the Special Deposit North at Kavos, Keros (Sotirakopoulou, Renfrew & Boyd 2017, 349–52, fig. 23.4).

Previously unpublished.

1.7. Part of right lower leg of a marble Cycladic figurine of the folded-arm type (MK3036) (Fig. 21.10).

Maximum preserved height 118 mm; maximum preserved thickness (at the knee) 25 mm

Gissouri, Nea Styra: Gr.1, stratum 4, layer 11, E 139 (A19)

Marble.

Old fractures at the upper and lower end. A small fissure in the lower part of the leg, a little above the foot, and a bigger one

on the back. Different surface colour on the rear, due to the accumulation of residues removed during conservation.

Previously unpublished.

II. Sculptures of the Spedos variety

II.1. Lower part of torso to thighs of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3034) (Fig. 21.11).

Maximum preserved height 65 mm; maximum width at elbows 57 mm; maximum thickness 22 mm

Gissouri, Nea Styra: collected during inspection of the earth fill from the opening of trial trenches by mechanical digger, at the place where during the excavation Gr.1, E 18, was located

Marble.

Lower torso preserving the right elbow, the lower part of right upper arm and part of the folded arms. Legs missing from mid-thighs.

Grooves mark the outline of the folded arms above the belly, while the preserved upper arm is separated from the body by a shallow incision. Slightly curving position of the forearms. The hands are not indicated. No effort was made to form the curve of the waist or hips, both being rendered as a continuous straight line. Pubic triangle indicated by three shallow incisions. Another similarly shallow incision is used to separate the legs from one another, extending into the pubic triangle almost up to its base.

On the rear side of the body, an angular protuberance indicates the buttocks, while the upper arms are clearly marked out, being much broader than they are on the front. Spinal column not indicated.

The figurine displays features compatible both with the Spedos and Dokathismata variety. The folded forearms protruding over the torso's surface, the angularity of the buttocks and the placement of the pubic triangle much lower than the buttocks on the rear, are hallmarks of the Dokathismata variety.

The figurine shows quite close affinity with the Akrotiri sub-variety (Sotirakopoulou *et al.* 2017, 357–62; see cat. no. I.2).

Previously unpublished.

II.2. Pelvis and legs of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3035) (Fig. 21.12).

Maximum preserved height 97 mm; maximum width at the elbows 66 mm

Gissouri, Nea Styra: Gr.1, stratum 3, layer 9, E 124

Marble.

The legs are depicted united, separated only by a cleft. In the upper part of the preserved fragment, two oblique incisions that delineate the public triangle can be seen. An incision, projecting over the cleft between the legs, extends into the apex of the triangle. A shallow groove is used to indicate the ankle joints (preserved on the right foot). The outline of the leg area forms a triangle.

In profile, legs bending markedly at the knees.

Previously unpublished.

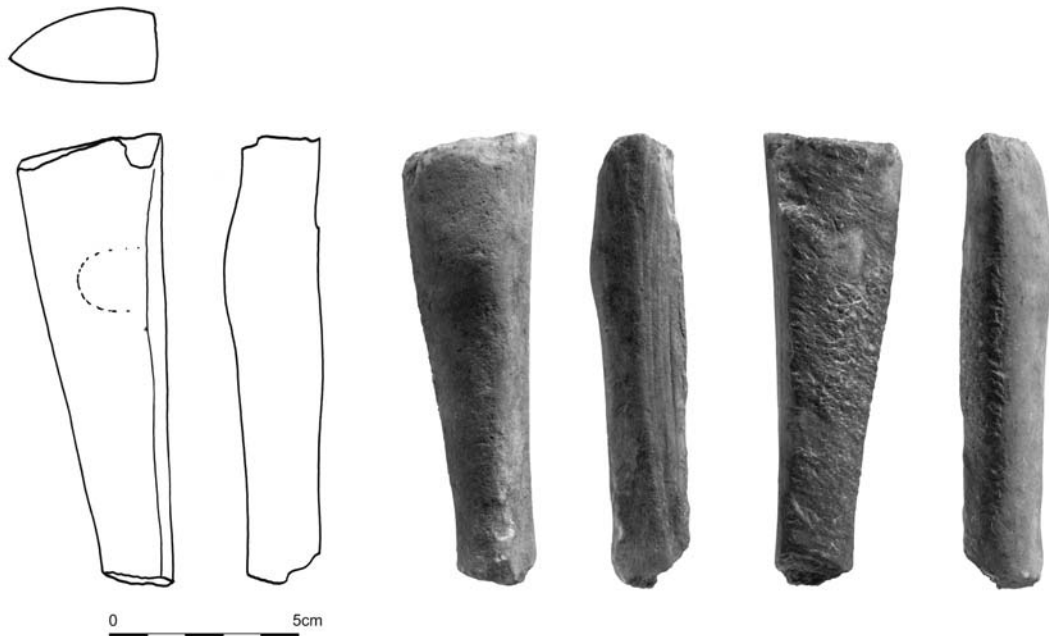


Figure 21.10 Part of right lower leg of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3036). Grave 1, Nea Styra. Scale 1:2.

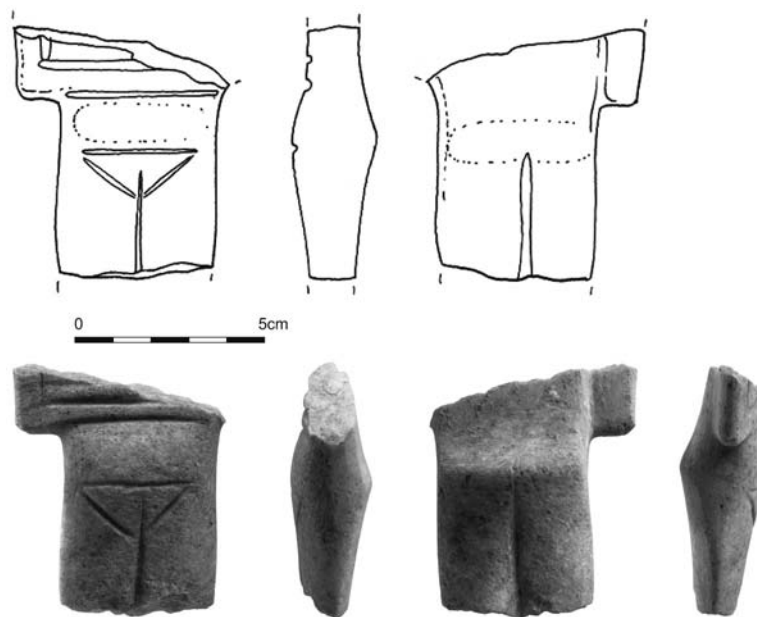


Figure 21.11 Lower part of torso to thighs of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3034). Gissouri, Nea Styra. Scale 1:2.

11.3. Torso of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3037) (Fig. 21.13).

Maximum preserved height 70 mm; maximum width at the shoulders 59 mm; maximum thickness 17 mm

Gissouri, Nea Styra: Gr.1, stratum 5, layer 15, E 150

Marble.

The right shoulder and upper part of the right arm are damaged. Two scratches on the right breast. The front and back sides differ in the colour due to the occurrence of residues.

Torso defined above by the broad, markedly curving shoulders and below by the slender forearms folded across the stomach. Deep grooves are used to indicate the unnaturally slender upper arms and forearms. The body under the forearms shows a slight roundness. Shallow, broad incisions are used to delineate the pubic triangle, placed slightly off-centre. Just visible also is the incision for the indication of the vulva.

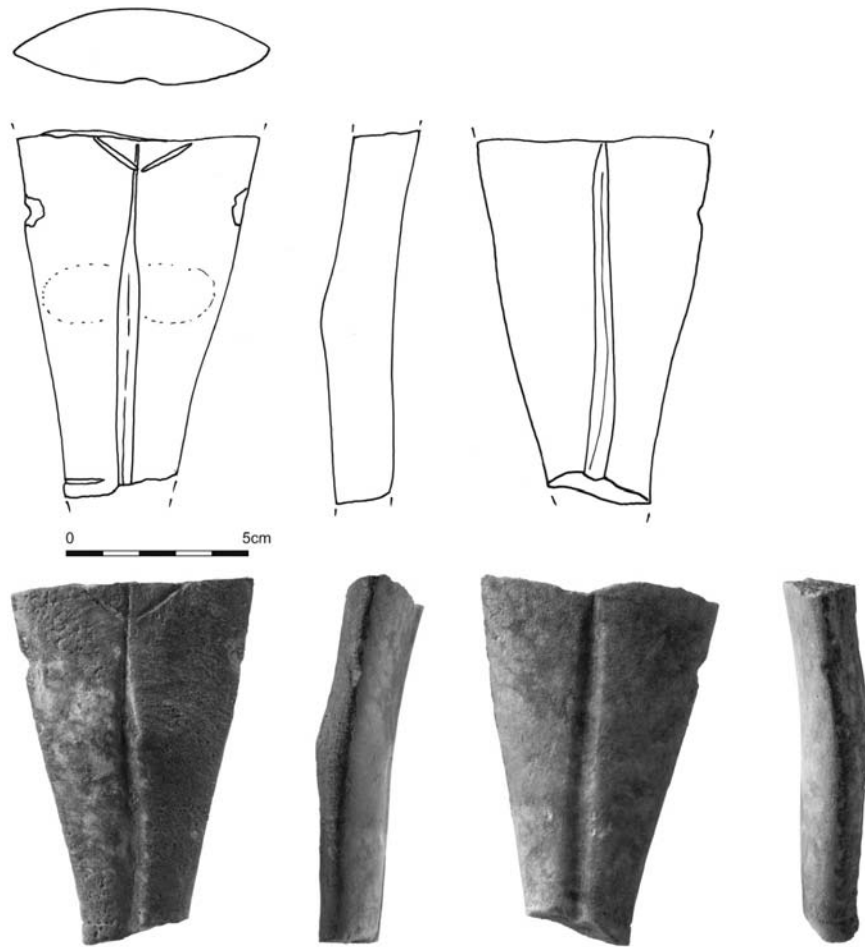


Figure 21.12 Pelvis and legs of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3035). Grave 1, Nea Styra. Scale 1:2.

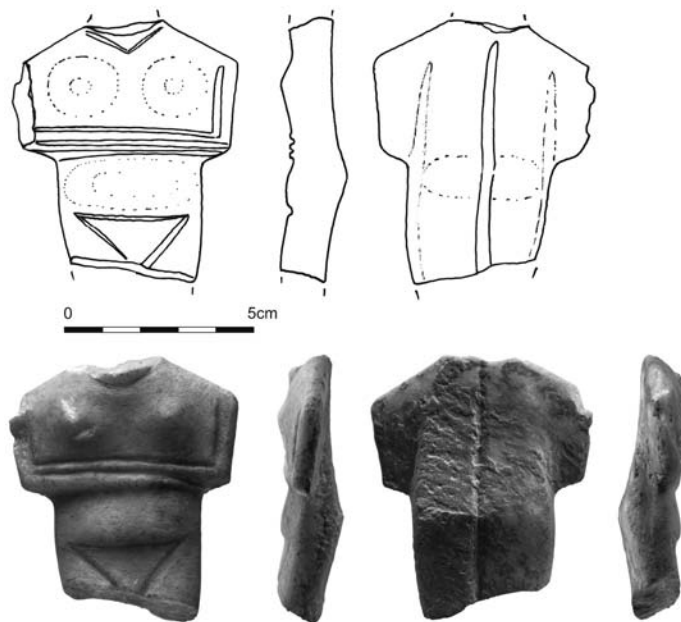


Figure 21.13 Torso of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3037). Grave 1, Nea Styra. Scale 1:2.



Figure 21.14 Head of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3043). Grave 4, Nea Styra. Scale 1:2.

On the back, a continuous groove runs down the spinal column and further down separates the legs. The upper arms are carved out evidently broader. The buttocks are sharply angular. Notable is the marked bending of the legs on the front. The figurine belongs to the Akrotiri sub-variety, having similarities with SM1176 from grave XI at Chalandriani on Syros (Marthari 2017). Previously unpublished.

II.4. Head of marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3043) (Fig. 21.14).

Maximum preserved height 38 mm; maximum width 22.5 mm; maximum thickness 23 mm

Gissouri, Nea Styra: Gr.4, east side of the shaft, E 212

Marble.

Lyre-shaped head of marble Cycladic figurine of the Spedos variety.

Previously unpublished.

II.5. Part of lower body of marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type, or possibly a seated figure (MK3042) (Fig. 21.15).

Maximum preserved height c. 48 mm; maximum preserved width 33 mm; maximum preserved thickness 14 mm

Gissouri, Nea Styra: Gr.3, stratum 5, layer 6, area B, E 180

White, fine-grained, translucent marble.

Old fractures, with the exception of that in the fragment's upper part, on the back side. Colour differentiation of marble on the back, due to the occurrence of extensive surface residues prior to conservation.

It is not clear whether this piece depicts part of the upper or lower legs. The legs are separated by a groove on both the front and back side. Aspects of volume rendering and plasticity lead to the suggestion that this is a figure of the Spedos variety. The 'mysterious' protuberances seen in the upper part of the fragment cannot be identified with folded arms, since neither the belly with the pubic triangle nor the buttocks are preserved, and, therefore, the present fragment cannot be safely assigned to the upper leg area. It is equally problematic to identify this piece as lower legs, as no increase of width is justified at the knees, unless a seated

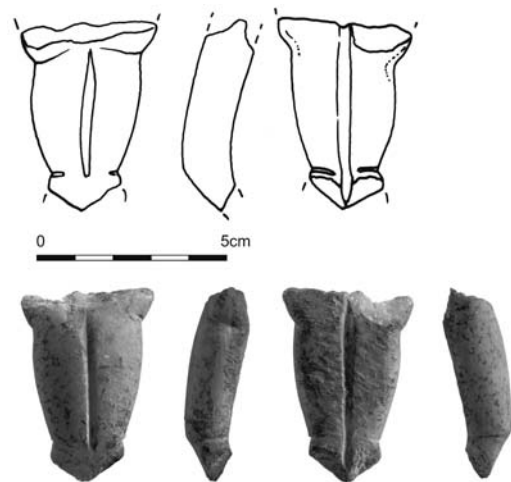


Figure 21.15 Part of lower body of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type, or possibly a seated figure (MK3042). Grave 3, Nea Styra. Scale 1:2.

figure is portrayed. This hypothesis is reinforced by the angle of inclination the upper part of the fragment forms on the back side. Equally enigmatic is the rendering of the figurine's lower part. Could it be that it depicts the lower feet, as one might argue upon seeing the shallow groove indicating the ankles? Previously unpublished.

II.6. Torso to upper legs of marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3040) (Fig. 21.16).

Maximum preserved height 102 mm; maximum preserved width (at the upper arms) 59 mm; maximum preserved thickness 25 mm

Gissouri, Nea Styra: Gr.3, stratum 3, layer 3, area B, E 168

Fine-grained white marble; mended.

The figurine belongs with the late specimens of the Spedos variety, while showing some features of the early Dokathismata variety.

On the front, the intact right forearm is set, in a right angle bend, under the partly preserved left one. The right forearm is of fixed width along its entire length, ending in the hand area where shallow incisions denote the fingers. Deep incisions separate the forearms. The pubic triangle is large, expanding over the entire pelvis area. The deep cleft that separates the legs from one another extends into the apex of the triangle to indicate the vulva.

The outline of the body narrows along a smooth curve starting right below the folded arms.

On the back, the buttocks are almost flat. An incision down the middle indicates the spinal column, turning into a deep cleft further below to separate the legs from one another. The left leg is slightly more slender than the right one.

In profile, the figurine is flat with straight legs.

It shares similarities with a marble Cycladic figurine of the Spedos-Dokathismata variety in the Museum of Cycladic Art (Sotirakopoulou 2005, no. 117, 156).

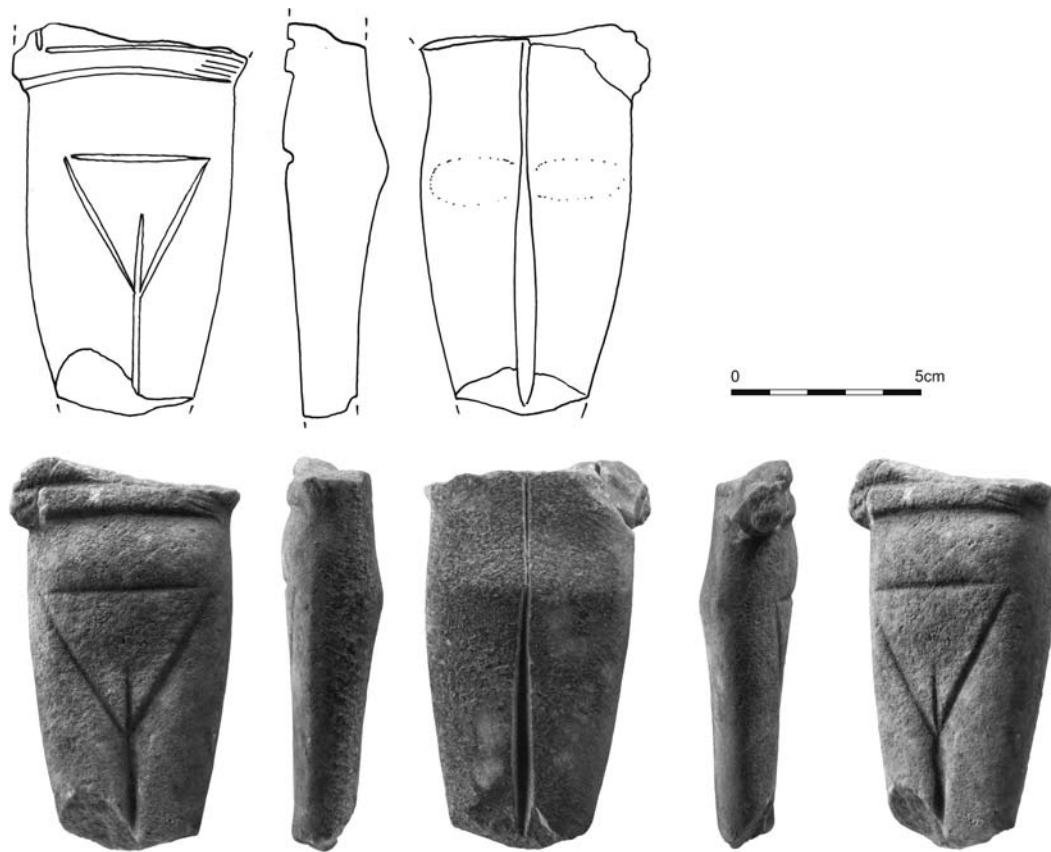


Figure 21.16 Torso to upper legs of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3040). Grave 3, Nea Styra. Scale 1:2.

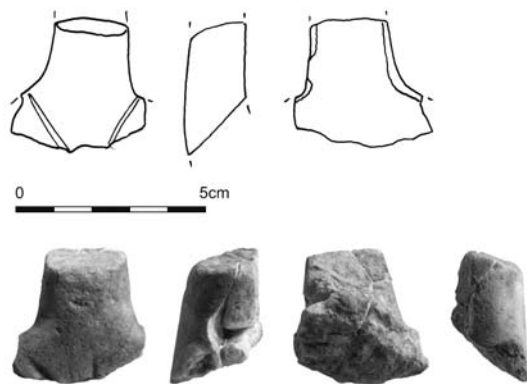


Figure 21.17 Part of neck of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3038). Grave 1, Nea Styra. Scale 1:2.

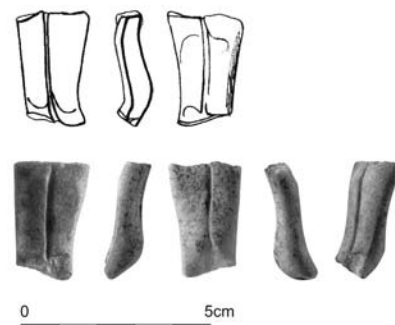


Figure 21.18 Part of the legs of a marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3044). Gissouri, Nea Styra. Scale 1:2.

II.7. Part of neck of marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3038) (Fig. 21.17).

Maximum preserved height 35 mm; maximum preserved width 35 mm

Gissouri, Nea Styra: Gr.1, stratum 3, layer 4, area Γ, E 152.

Marble.

Previously unpublished.

II.8. Part of the legs of marble Cycladic sculpture of the folded-arm type (MK3044) (Fig. 21.18).

Maximum preserved height 27 mm; maximum preserved width 18.5 mm; maximum preserved thickness 8 mm

Gissouri, Nea Styra: square B1, layer 3, 5.4.2013, E 214.

Marble.

Part of the legs of figurine of the late Spedos variety.

Previously unpublished.

III. Large-size sculpture

III.1. Head and part of neck of large-size stone sculpture (MK3041) (Fig. 21.19).

Maximum preserved height 185 mm; maximum width 128 mm; maximum preserved thickness 68 mm

Gissouri, Nea Styra: Gr.2, stratum 5, layer 5, E 179.

Schist.

Polished or rather smoothed surface.

The face of the sculpture is damaged. Quite a few scratches and scars appear on it, caused during the excavation, as it was found facing down and was initially thought to be a mere stone.

This is the head of a large-size figurine. If we imagine the height of the head corresponding to one-fifth of the sculpture's total height, its estimated height is about 925 mm. Unfortunately, the face is not preserved, depriving us of valuable information, even more so as it is one of the few specimens of such large-sized figurines coming from an excavated assemblage (cf. Sotirakopoulou *et al.* 2017; Renfrew & Boyd 2017). However, due to the lack of comparative material available from closed archaeological contexts, it can only be compared with relevant examples the provenance of which remains unknown. A peculiarity occurring in this specific instance is not its size, since there are other heads of larger-sized sculptures, but the selection of raw material for its manufacture. The sculpture has been carved in schist, a stone exceptionally hard to work as to the rendering of details in relief; for this reason, when starting to remove the archaeological layer in which it was located, it was thought to be an unworked stone.

The rear of the head is flat. Judging from the original surfaces that have been preserved, apart from that on the rear, it is evident that the schist had undergone polishing. From the anatomical details of the head, only the disc-like ears are preserved, which are formed in relief with a hole in the centre. The position of the ears is asymmetrical, the right ear being placed higher than the left. Another peculiarity appears in the style of indicating the hair, with relief triangles at the top and on either side of the head. The manner of rendering the ears finds parallels in other large-size sculptures (see Sotirakopoulou 2005, 480, note 491), but the hole in their centre is a feature not observed in any other known example. Previously unpublished.

Conclusions

The accomplishment of this particular excavation project proves to be important for various reasons, the detailed analysis of which is not included in the scope of the present paper.

First, it ascertained the character of Nea Styra as an important centre in the southern Gulf of Euboea, maintaining contacts on a local and inter-regional level, as indicated by the abundance, richness and provenance of the funerary objects in the graves, which show stylistic influences from the civilisation of the Cyclades.

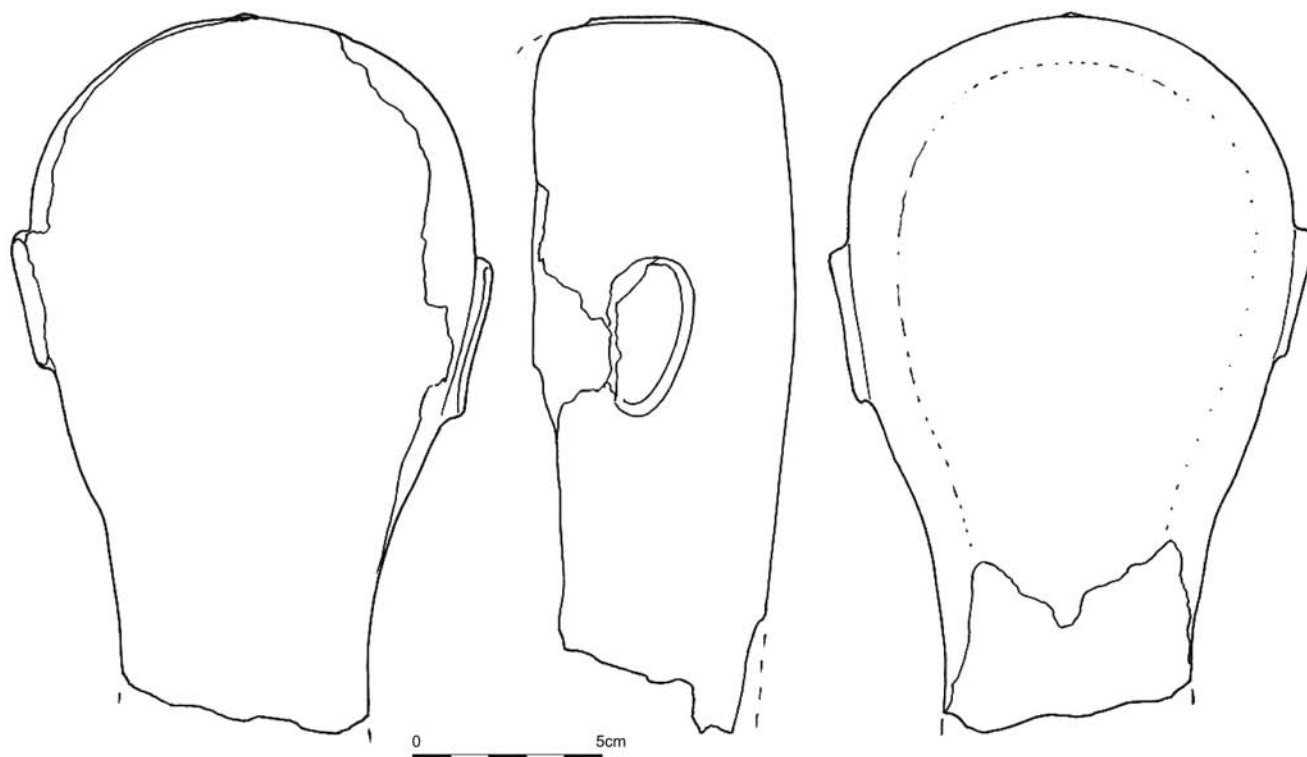


Figure 21.19 Head and part of neck of large-size stone sculpture (MK3041). Gissouri, Nea Styra. Scale 1:2.



Figure 21.19 (Continued)

Second, it provided a corpus of 16 sculptures that constitutes the largest assemblage deriving from excavation known, until now, outside the Cyclades, offering valuable evidence about the multitude of Cycladic sculptures that have been lost forever.

Finally, on another level, no less significant, is the recognition it brought to the importance of rescue excavation research as a vital aspect of the work of the Archaeological Service, and as an inexhaustible process of obtaining information to enrich the reading of the material culture of antiquity, an aspect that tends to be overlooked and gradually forgotten.

In this paper an effort was made not only to do what was expected, namely the classification of sculptures into sets and subsets, according to the recent archaeological research, but also to serve the purpose of asking questions and formulating ideas in relation to the centre of Nea Styra.

Acknowledgements

To the organisers of the symposium I would like to extend my thanks for honouring me with an invitation to present the sculptures from the Early Helladic cemetery of Nea Styra. Very special thanks, however, I would like to address to Dr Marisa Marthari for her understanding, sense of collegiality and support, with regard to my repeated delays in the submission of the final text, and, above all, for the generous personal interest with which she treated me.

For impeccable collaboration in the domain of excavation I warmly thank the archaeologists, Dr Myrsini Gouma and Dr Yannis Chairetakis, who undertook the excavation during the first and the second period, respectively. To the integrity of their excavation methodology we owe such a thorough documentation of its stages.

Finally, to Mrs Katerina Kostanti, a fellow archaeologist at the National Archaeological Museum and a dear friend of mine, I would like to express my gratitude for all those extensive discussions we had at times on the material of the graves and for her always constructive observations.

Notes

- 1 Editorial note. This paper is the edited English translation of the original Greek text that was delivered by the author to the editors of the present volume in March 2015, and was included in the pre-circulation volume distributed to the participants in the Symposium on *Early Cycladic Sculpture beyond the Cyclades*. The translation is by Dr Katya Manteli, the photographs by Irini Miari, the drawings of the figurines by Dr Aleksandar Kapuran -with the kind support of Dr Žarko Tankosić, Higher Executive Officer at the Norwegian Institute at Athens-, and Despoina Christou (Figurines MK3043, MK3044) of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea. The author's closest friends took care of the present edition of the paper in a completely noninvasive way showing respect for her love for perfection.

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CYCLADICA FROM THE SETTLEMENT AT PALAMARI ON SKYROS

Liana Parlama

Excavations at Palamari, one of the most important sites in the Bronze Age Aegean, have been undertaken since 1981 up to the present date by the archaeologists Maria D. Theocharis and Liana Parlama, and their collaborators Elisavet Hatzipouliou, Stamatios Bonatsos, Christina Romanou and Yannis Manos. The coastal settlement of the beginning of the Early Bronze Age developed into a fortified harbour town from the middle of the 3rd millennium BC (including a fortification wall with horseshoe-shaped bastions, outworks and a ditch: Figs 22.1–22.2). It was certainly a great centre for the movement of metals and other goods until the middle of the 2nd millennium, as evidenced by the excavation finds. The stratigraphic excavation data show that there are four phases of the settlement (Fig. 22.3; Parlama & Theochari 2015; Bonatsos & Romanou 2015; Romanou 2015a; 2015b): Palamari I (Early Bronze Age II), Palamari II (Early Bronze Age II and early Early Bronze Age III), Palamari III (late Early Bronze Age III) and Palamari IV (Middle Bronze Age).

The relations that the settlement seems to have had with the islands of the northeastern Aegean and Asia Minor littoral are noteworthy as demonstrated by the form of the fortifications, Anatolian type pottery (*depas* in the layers of Palamari II and III; Fig. 20.4) and other objects of Anatolian origin (such as the cylinder seal; Fig. 20.5). A marble figurine (MSk2111; Fig. 22.6; Tambakopoulos & Maniatis 2015) of Beycesultan type (cf. Thimme 1976, 555

no. 530) is also an interesting find. This particular figurine preserves the body, the arms and the base of the neck. The lower edge is broken. It should be noted that contact between Palamari and Asia Minor was extensive given the finds of the excavation (Parlama 2007; 2009).

Palamari was also in contact with neighbouring Euboea and mainland Greece (Theochari & Parlama 1986; Parlama 1999; 2009). The Cyclades is another area with which relations also exist (Parlama 1999; 2007) as demonstrated by the finds. The most important Early Cycladic find from Palamari is a figurine head of the canonical type (MSk1360; Fig. 22.7) made from white marble (possibly of Parian origin). This oval head belongs to the Kapsala variety (Renfrew 1969). It has a preserved height of 65 mm, a width of 30 mm and a maximum thickness 23 mm. The length from chin to crown of head is 53 mm and the neck is 17 mm across. It has no indications of paint. The figurine was found in the eastern side of the settlement, in the area that has subsided, among the pebbles of the beach.

The fragments of three marble Early Cycladic vases are equally important. They are as follows:

1. MSk1495, MSk1496. A large part of the rim and body of a bowl (Fig. 22.8) found outside the southern fortification, in the section between bastions Z' and H', in a layer of the Palamari I phase.



Figure 22.1 Aerial photograph of Palamari on Skyros (K. Xenikakis).



Figure 22.2 Plan of the settlement at Palamari.

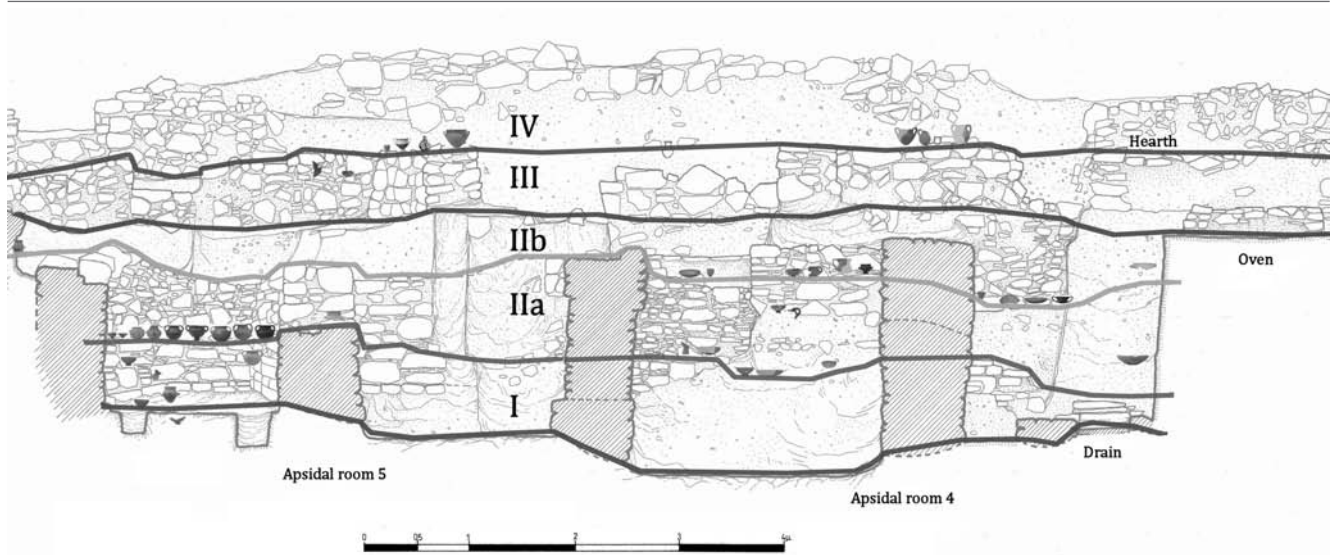


Figure 22.3 Stratigraphic section of the excavation of the interior of the south fortification, where all the chronological phases of the settlement may be discerned.



Figure 22.4 *Depas amphikypellon* (MSk1220; interior of the northwest fortification. Test trench 2000, Trench IIIA).



Figure 22.5 Cylinder seals (MSk1021, surface find from the settlement; MSk1112, sector B, house Γ3).



Figure 22.6 Marble figurine (MSk2111; external face of the south fortification, area east of bastion H). Scale 1:2.

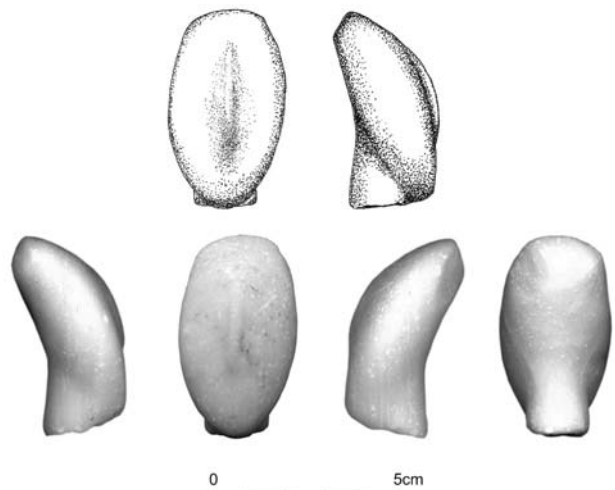


Figure 22.7 Head of a marble figurine (MSk1360). Scale 1:2.

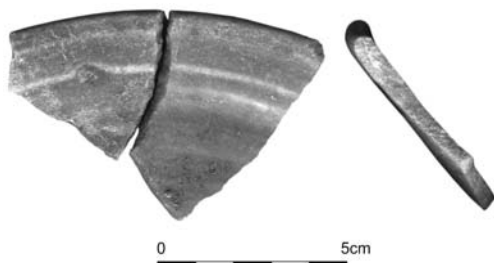


Figure 22.8 Fragment of a marble bowl (MSk1495, MSK149) outside the south fortification, area between bastions Z and Scale 1:2.

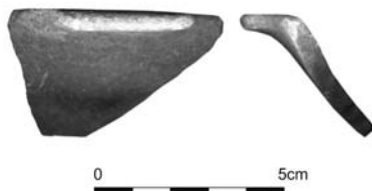


Figure 22.9 Fragment of a marble bowl (MSK1494); surface find in the settlement. Scale 1:2.

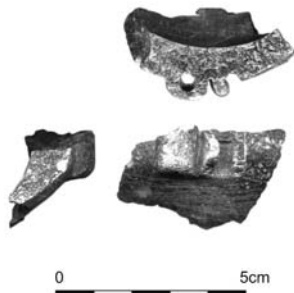


Figure 22.10 Fragment of a marble bowl (MSK1794); outside the northwest fortification, bastion Z. Scale 1:2.

2. MSK1494. Small part of the rim and body of a bowl preserving an intact elongated horizontal handle on the rim (Fig. 22.9). This is a surface find from the area of the settlement.
3. MSK1794. Fragment of a closed vase preserving a double cylindrical perforated handle (Fig. 22.10); it was found outside the northwest fortification wall, in bastion Z', in a layer of the Palamari II phase.

It is noted that these marble vases find parallels in the Cyclades and indeed at the Skarkos settlement on Ios (Marthari 2017, 135, fig. 12.9 top; 2018, 181–2, fig. 22) and the cemetery of Aplomata on Naxos (Doulas & Lambrinouidakis 2017, 190, fig. 15.6 middle).

In addition to these finds, Early Cycladic ceramics have been found in layers of the Palamari I and II phases. These are mainly fragments of 'frying pans' with impressed and incised decoration. The motifs are triangles and spirals

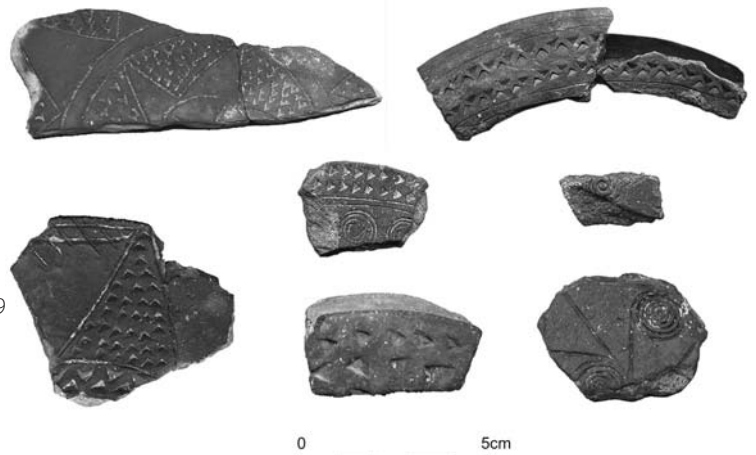


Figure 22.11 Sherds of frying pans (from different places in the settlement).



Figure 22.12 Jug with painted decoration (MSK736). Sector B, house Γ1.

(Fig. 22.11). Moreover, two local beaked jugs, similar to the jugs of the late Early Cycladic III 'Geometric' class (Fig. 22.12) were found in deposits of the Palamari III phase. Besides, it is noted that saucers (Fig. 22.13), as well as *Urfirnis* sauceboats (Fig. 22.14; Bonatsos & Romanou 2015), have been revealed in the layers of Palamari I and II phases. Such finds occur in both Early Helladic and Early Cycladic II settlements (Wilson 1999, 71–5, 134; Marthari 2008, 72–3).

Miniature spool-shaped pestles of white marble and other materials, artefacts that are often found in Early



Figure 22.13 Saucer (MSk1926); interior of the south fortification, west Trench 6, space 3, apsidal building 1.

Cycladic sites (Haas-Lebegyev 2017), have also been detected at Palamari (Fig. 22.15), in layers of the Early Bronze Age.

Moreover, Melian obsidian has been found in abundance in the layers of all Palamari phases, both of the Early Bronze Age (Palamari I, II and III) and Middle Bronze Age (Palamari IV). Finds of the Early Bronze Age phases include nodules, cores, flakes and tools – the entire obsidian production chain – which shows that obsidian was processed *in situ* (Fig. 22.16).

The finds from the excavation bear witness to the relations between Skyros and the Cyclades. Such Early Cycladic finds are not only found at Palamari but also at other Early Bronze Age sites on Skyros, including half of a stone figurine of Cycladic type (preserved height 65 mm; thickness 2.5–6 mm; Fig. 22.17), a surface find from Atsitsa; two bone tubes (Fig. 22.18); as well as pottery and obsidian

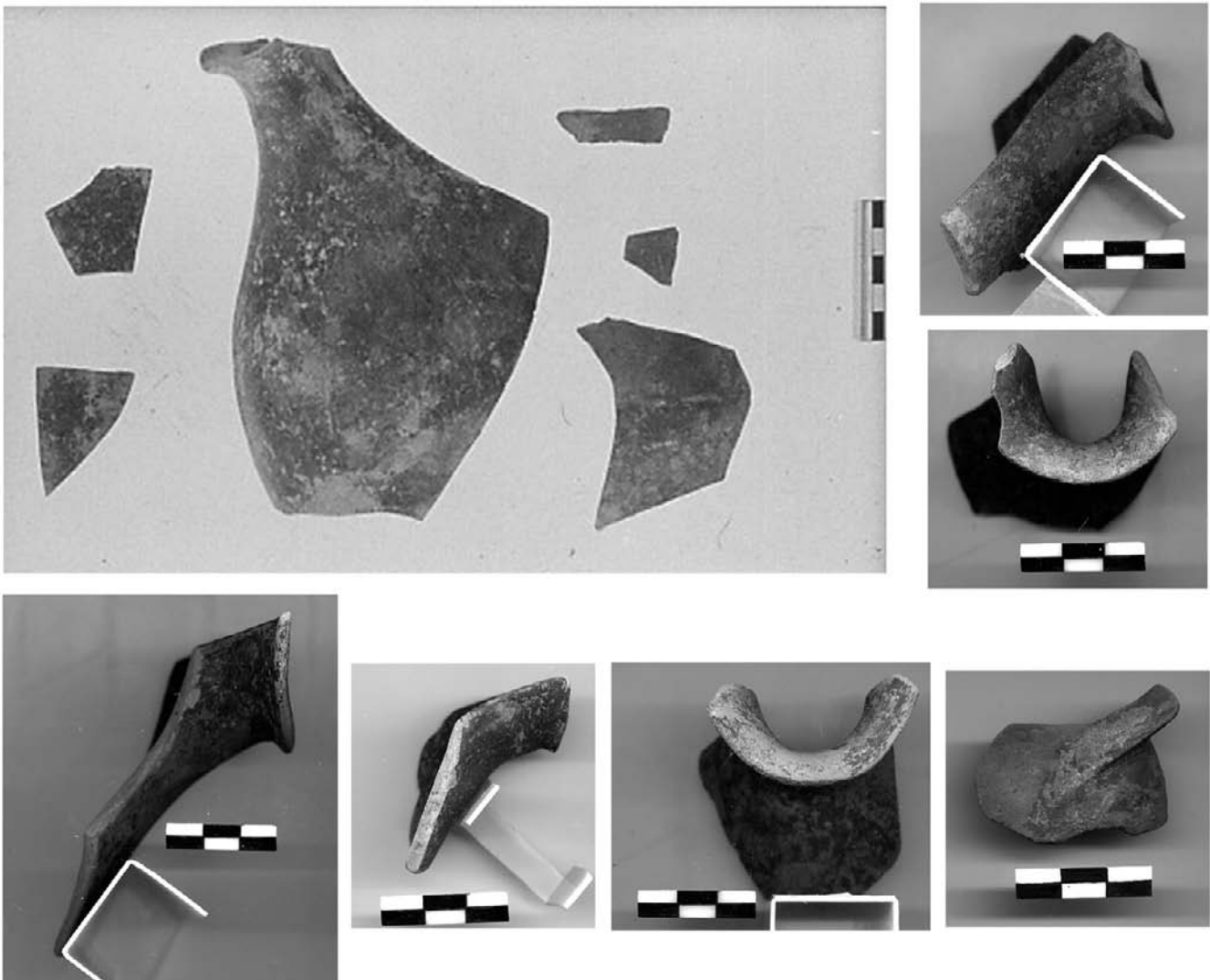


Figure 22.14 Sauceboats (from various parts of the settlement).



Figure 22.15 Spools (from various places in the settlement). Scale 1:2.

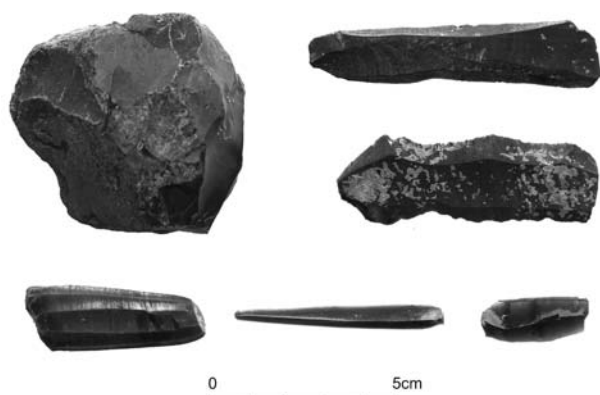


Figure 22.16 Nodule, cores and blades of Melian obsidian.



Figure 22.17 Fragment of a stone figurine from the site of Atsitsa on Skyros. Scale 1:2.

from the area of Chora, the modern capital of Skyros (Parlama 1984, 94–5, pls 39–41a).



Figure 22.18 Bone tubes (Museum of Skyros).

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CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION IN THE SETTLEMENT CONTEXT OF EARLY BRONZE AGE PROSKYNAS IN EAST LOKRIS, CENTRAL GREECE

Eleni Zahou

Introduction

A social archaeology of the Aegean focuses on people and their practices; on households, communities and human settlements in the wider landscape; on the interconnecting sea and seascapes. People used these landscapes and seascapes to sustain themselves physically and mentally; villages, fields, harbours and the sea all enabled them to produce food, to exchange goods, to express symbolism and design, to make social statements, to commemorate events, to live their lives. The study of the elements of the Early Bronze Age material culture found in the Proskynas settlement in East Lokris followed theoretical approaches, suggesting that it is possible to approach the special meaning of archaeological data in terms of contextual archaeology (Hodder 1991, 7–18; Kotsakis 2002, 15–24; Kotsakis 1999, 11–23; Barrett 1987, 468–73; Barrett & Damilati 2004, 164). The term ‘context’ refers to the clusters of relations in which material culture partakes. In the context of social life and practices, the objects that comprise material culture are produced, used and deposited within networks of cognitive schemata, meanings and symbolisms that define their final characteristics. Academic interest has now turned to the way in which the human act is imprinted on material archaeological testimony. The

correlations of objects, *i.e.* anything that comprises the substantiation of human activity, allow the restructuring of meanings. Objects have to be set within their context, within the successive circles of correlations in which they partake as they are used.

The meaning of objects, the conscious efforts for their construction and the non-conscious significance attributed to them through constant interpretation, is approached through the analysis of the complex human act. This is the meaning of relevance and its explanatory function in post-processual archaeology, which focuses on the exploration of the role ideas play in the shaping of social reality within the framework of human activity, as it is conceived in the contemporary anthropological theory of action (Bourdieu 1990). The same theory highlights the view that culture should no longer be considered simply a passive sub-product of human activity, but rather a result of the active participation of the members of a society.

In the region of East Lokris, two excavations were conducted in which settlements of the Early Bronze Age period were revealed. At first the Proskynas settlement, which is placed during the Early Bronze IIa period, was founded on a low hill made of soft limestone, near the modern village (Fig. 23.1). The site is located 3 km from the sea. The successive settlement phases and the uses of space



Figure 23.1 The EBA settlement at Proskynas, with buildings A-D indicated. 1, 2: findspots of Louros-type figurines. North is to the top.

in general did not develop vertically, as is the norm in the case of small and steep mounds, but rather horizontally, resulting in the expansion of the remains of human activity (Zahou 2009). The new settlement was constructed above the cemetery of the Final Neolithic period, as at other settlements in central and southern Greece (Zahou 2009, 12, footnotes 3 and 4; and more analytically Psimogiannou 2008).

Rather different is the settlement of the tidal islet at Mitrou, just 2 km north of Proskynas. This type of settlement is usually recorded as a ‘magoula’ or ‘tomba’ type settlement (Van de Moortel & Zahou, 2004; 2012). The settlement at Mitrou is placed during the later phases of the Early Bronze Age, a period which is known as the Kastri or Lefkandi phase. Nevertheless, common to both sites is that the settlement of the Early Bronze Age was established above the closed structured depositions of the Final Neolithic period (Psimogiannou 2008; 2012). What is important to notice is that EBA communities chose to reuse sites of the Final Neolithic period. Years ago Caskey (1960, 286) wrote that in the settlement at Lerna ‘the Early Helladic inhabitants, sometime after their first arrival, had levelled the upper surface of the hill, filling hollows and

dumping much of the debris over the crest ... in order to make a larger and better ordered space for their houses’.

The new settlements of the EBA period in East Lokris were established, after a gap, above an open communal area. The reuse of place signifies the respect of locations. The form that this reuse takes is the transformation of a place to a domestic context. Places and specific locales are constructed as special through collective experience. Places gather memories from these experiences, memories that can be recollected and reactivated at a later time, during a return visit to the same place (Zahou & Psimogiannou 2015).

The EBA II settlement of Proskynas, East Lokris

The final Neolithic remains lay immediately above bedrock on the flat surface of the hill and are represented only by burials and pits dug into the soft bedrock (Psimogiannou 2012, 185–201). In the same area, after a period of abandonment, a new settlement was constructed which was organised by buildings and by an open communal space (Fig. 23.1). The

process can be understood as the embodiment of an old structure in a new, socially and symbolically. The research focused on three buildings, which were free-standing buildings, since they were surrounded by open spaces. They were built on an east-west axis. The distance between buildings A and C is 10 m, while the distance between buildings C and D is 5 m. They were all founded on a stone foundation level, they had an upper structure made out of mud bricks and floors made out of clay. In one case (building A) the floor was lime plastered. Building A is a rectangular structure with three interior spaces, covering a total of 25 m². Rooms 1 and 2 are placed in a row on the east-west axis and are surrounded by narrow corridors on the north and on the west. To the south there is another room, room 3, which to the southeast is surrounded by three round and closed built structures, arranged in a hive-like manner, with common vertical inner sides coated in clay, and natural bedrock as their floor, on which a pithos was set.

Building C appears to be different in terms of the building practices that were followed for its construction, both in its general arrangement as well as in the development of its interior rooms. It is a large building that covers about 120 m² and was built on the north-south axis. It comprises two rows of interior rooms, divided by a partition wall. Lateral walls create a total of eight rooms in each row. To the west of building C lay building D, which is essentially a four-faceted room of 5 m × 5 m.

To the east of the buildings there is an open area, which is the communal area of the settlement, 30 m × 30 m in dimensions; it is characterised by the presence of various structures. There is the stone-paved area B or stone platform, which was created gradually and assumed the form of a stone-paved space, 3 m × 5 m. It underwent three reconstructions; in all three phases it was bounded by a terrace wall, a wall with free edges. Two underground circular structures and five thermal structures were located



Figure 23.2 The communal space of the settlement with thermal structures.

in the eastern part of the settlement, at the edge of the communal part of the settlement; these were free spaces in which communal practices were enacted (Fig. 23.2). The structures were outlined by retaining walls, so the space looks as if it were fragmented into smaller units. Access to these appears to have been open, so we can regard them as communal. In the same area, two pits outlined by stones were revealed in which two articulated cows had been buried. It was a primary deposition.

Open area B, the round structures, and the thermal structures were associated with the whole community. Their construction was perhaps the result of conscious effort and collective investment in space, time and labour. Moreover, the repetitive activities that were associated with them shaped and reaffirmed collective bonds, meaning that they functioned as a means of shaping a collective identity for the members of the community. It becomes evident that factors such as the stone paving of an open area, the constant presence of thermal structures, the consumption of meat, and the ritual deposition of animal bones, formalise the specific space as a place of ritual action.

Moreover, one important current issue in Early Bronze Age household archaeology is the explanation of burnt houses, a frequent event not only on tells, like Mitrou, but also in extended settlements. At the settlement of Proskynas, all the houses were found burnt by fire and sealed by stones. The discovery of large quantities of objects on floors inside the burnt houses signifies social statements about community. The whole community was covered by layers of stones and this is the reason that all the structures retained their morphological features, marking in the most elegant way the short duration of the experience of the community. The burnt horizon shows the intention of the inhabitants not only to place the whole settlement in the

ancestral realm but also to develop mechanisms to maintain and transfer memory. It may also be argued that in addition to the spatial organisation of the settlement, the lack of emphasis on the spatial continuity of the house is another element that reinforces the view that the settlement was more intended to impose collectivity as a principal ideological mechanism (Zahou & Psimogiannou 2015).

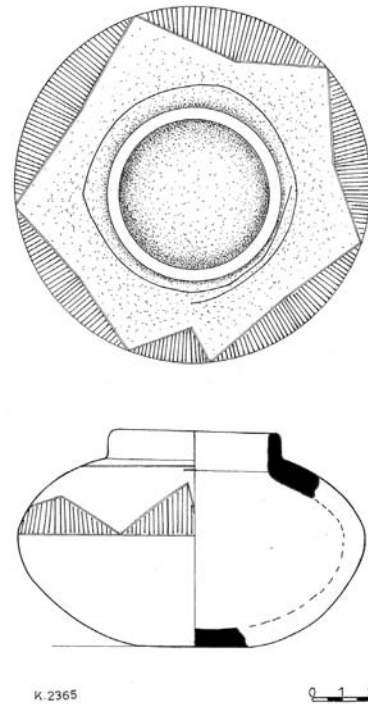


Figure 23.3 Pyxis with incised decoration.



Figure 23.4 Jug and storage vessels.



Figure 23.5 Sherds from frying pans.



Figure 23.7 Sherds of sauceboats of Urfirnis ware.



Figure 23.6 Marble figurine of Louros type. Scale 1:2.

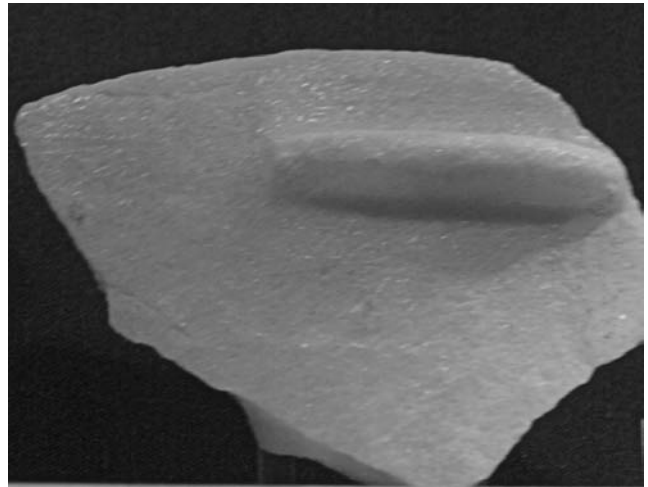


Figure 23.8 Marble horizontal lug bowl.

Consumption on a household level

The users of building A utilised the broad variety of pottery types that are associated with drinking and eating. Saucers and cups of all ceramic types were recorded. In terms of the pouring pots, sauceboats and jugs of all ceramic categories were recorded. The observed variety of pottery types extends to vessels associated with storage practices, short- or long-term; pithoi stand out within this category (Figs 23.3, 23.4). Moreover, they used a broader variety of ‘special’ vessels: pyxides and frying pans (Fig. 23.5). There is a collection of frying pans with incised or impressed interconnecting spirals, or with images such as stars and the sun. We do not know whether all frying pans, or some of them, and indeed the other shapes, are products of exchanges within the settlement. We do not refer exclusively to pottery exchange networks, but rather to the creation of zones of interaction inside which objects, ideas and identities are exchanged (Kotsakis 2010). In addition, frying pans bore – through the diversity of their

decoration – specific messages of locality and otherness, messages that we can imagine were of great importance to the social networks of which they were part (Zahou 2009, 119–24, see also relevant references, 210–14). Also, in the structural deposition of building A there was a Louros-type marble figurine (Fig. 23.6; no. 1 on Fig. 23.1) and a bronze drill, which can be described as prestige objects, and which are the products of exchange.

The users of building C employed a narrower variety of pots. They used saucers and cups of both light- and dark-slipped ware and burnished ware. As far as pouring vessels are concerned, only sauceboats of the light-slipped and burnished ware were recorded. A broader variety of pots was recorded in reference to storage vessels, among which stamnoi stand out. The ‘special’ vessels are represented almost exclusively by pyxides. Additionally in building C there was a bronze chisel.



Figure 23.9 Sauceboat of Urfinis ware.

In building D, a substantial variety of drinking and eating vessels was also recorded. There were saucers and cups of all ceramic categories. Even though the jug is absent as a pouring vessel, a collection of sauceboats of the light-slipped and burnished ware and of the Urfinis type was recorded (Fig. 23.7). Examination of the distribution of vessels associated with storage practices showed that there was a variety of forms, among which the basin stands out. The presence of frying pans and pyxides is minimal, while at the same time the presence of a marble horizontal lug bowl as a possible object of exchange was recorded (Fig. 23.8).

In general, the basic pottery types associated with consumption and storage were found in all the buildings. The ownership and use of similar ceramic clusters shows relevance in terms of everyday consumption and storage practices among the buildings' inhabitants. Moreover, exchange objects were equally distributed among the buildings, which indicates the buildings' users had equal access to these objects. Nevertheless, the people of buildings A and D seem to have preferred a broader variety of pots associated with drinking and eating (Zahou 2009, 153–63, 171–81).

Consumption on a communal level

The house has enjoyed a large amount of attention throughout the history of research into the EBA, but less attention has been given to open areas. In the east part of the settlement there was a significant presence of pots associated either with consumption or with storage. Structures were found that relate to the whole of the community or to specific portions of it. More specifically, in the south part of that area there was the stone-paved open area B, thermal structure 1 and round structure A.



Figure 23.10 Sherds of pouring vessels.

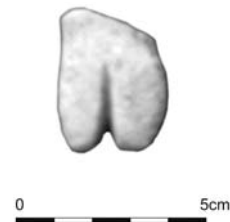


Figure 23.11 Part of marble figurine of Louros type. Scale 1:2.

A significant presence of pots associated with drink and food consumption was recorded in that area. Nevertheless, the presence of sauceboats is worth noting. Sauceboats of the Urfinis type had a marked presence in open area B and thermal structure 1, whereas sauceboats of the light-slipped and burnished ware were present in the round structure (Fig. 23.9). Jugs prevail again in this space (Fig. 23.10). Storage pots were scarce, represented almost exclusively by jars. The presence of frying pans and pyxides is also low. A bronze knife, a further Louros-type marble figurine (Fig. 23.11; findspot shown on Fig. 23.1, no. 2) and the only steatite seal that was found in the settlement were all recorded in this area. The seal has an incised decoration of five alternating rhombi.

As far as round structure B and the rest of the thermal structures are concerned, the variety of pots classified for drink and food consumption found there is low. Mostly light-slipped and burnished saucers, and dark-slipped and

burnished jars were recorded. There also were sauceboats and light-slipped and burnished jars. Conversely, the presence of storage pots was quite significant. Moreover, all pot types were recorded; the presence of 'special' pots, such as frying pans, was also marked in this area.

Even though different types of pots were recorded, it is important to stress that many vessels were used 'outside', meaning in spaces that cannot be associated (or at least we cannot associate them) with the users of one of the buildings, and for that reason they are characterised as communal or public areas. Thus, the social practices associated with eating and drinking in these areas are characterised as communal. This means that the primary practices that governed the organisation and use of the settlement's public area could have been associated both with the social activities that were underway in relation to the various structures, as well as communal consumption.

The correlation of either round or thermal structures with the whole community is possible. In particular, the concentration of thermal structures in the community area indicates the permanent identification of this part of the settlement for practices associated with fire. Moreover, structures fixed in space underline the regularity and repetition of these practices. It should be emphasised that the construction was the result of conscious effort and collective investment that aimed to serve repeated practices. Therefore the communal space was an area where, through construction and repetitive activities associated with the structures, the collective bonds of the members of the community were formed and reconfirmed.

Collective gatherings in the communal area of the settlement, which also entail practices associated with episodic food and drink consumption, have been noted elsewhere, both on the mainland, such as at Lerna (Wiencke 2000, 651), as well as on Crete, as at Knossos and the Myrtos settlement at Fournou Korifi (Day & Wilson 2004, 57; Catapoti 2005, 186). As already noted, 'special' vessels were used in open area B during communal consumption. It seems that this area was used exclusively for eating and drinking on a communal level.

Pouring vessels such as sauceboats and jars were used in this area. The high 'visibility' of Urfirnis-type pots, which we can infer based on the evidence of special care during their manufacture, is arguably associated with the active role played by these pots during those practices. The latter, judging by the pottery evidence, must have included food and drink distribution and consumption. In addition, Day & Wilson (2004, 55) suggest that the presence of spouts in those pots emphasises the act of pouring itself. This act determines the relation between those who pour and those who receive the drink. It is also suggested that the use of sauceboats of Urfirnis type emphasises communal consumption practices. Food was also consumed in

the same context. Food consumption in the settlement acquired an intensely social character and mostly occurred in conditions of collectivity. This indicates a process of reaffirmation of communal identity on different scales: on a household level, in terms of the whole settlement or even between communities. Thus, emphasis is put both on drinking as well as eating episodes; abundance is emphasised, a significant parameter, acknowledged during communal consumption (Wiessner 2001, 117).

The repetition of collective consumption episodes within the settlement appears to be institutionally grounded, since, as an activity, it has been allocated its own space and throughout its duration permanent constructs are utilised. In any case, examination of the pottery distribution among the buildings revealed that consumption and storage practices took place in all areas, indiscriminately. This fact, in combination with the small dimensions of the interior spaces of the buildings, leads us to infer that no interior space could accommodate the gathering of many people.

The social meaning of consumption

Consumption is closely associated with production and exchange. Production creates material categories, which incorporate social classification systems and which function as a framework for acts of consumption. This framework guides consumers towards related behaviours, which in turn influence and redefine the significance of each material category (Miller 1985, 180–2, 204–05). Since social roles guide consumption, exchange allows consumers to manage the value of the consumed objects, a value that is not an inherent attribute of the objects, but rather a human assumption about them (Appadurai 1986, 3–4). Therefore, consumption and exchange represent a network of commitments and obligations, *i.e.* they shape the community's symbolic capital in the form of social status, while leaving room for the negotiation of social position within the social system (Bourdieu 1990, 192–7; Appadurai 1986, 17–31).

The examination of the distribution of different kinds of artefacts within the settlement such as tools of obsidian (Fig. 23.12), metal tools, and beads of steatite (Fig. 23.13) afforded us the opportunity to observe the negotiation of social roles among the buildings' users, as well as the dialectic developed between the community and its members. It seems that the focal point of the settlement is the communal space. The group gatherings in the communal area of the settlement appear to have moved the negotiation of the social relations between the residents beyond the boundaries of the buildings. In these assemblies, the members of the community or certain groups within

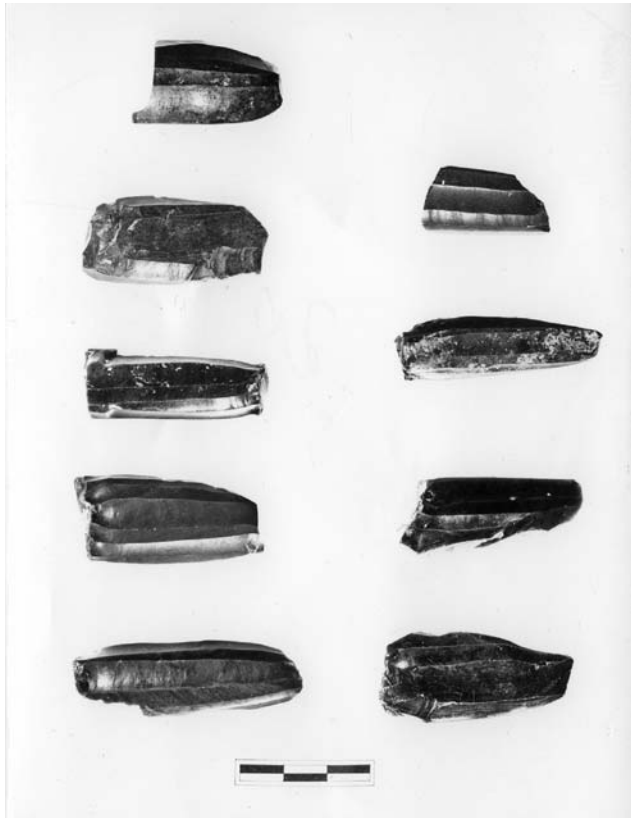


Figure 23.12 Obsidian tools.

the community emphasised the following parameters: the location of the assembly (open area B), food consumption (meat eating), and drink consumption (Zahou 2009, 169–70). Moreover, the use of specialised pouring vessels, such as Urfirnis-type sauceboats and jars, seems to have underlined the symbolic significance of liquid substances.

Without under-rating consumption on an everyday basis, consumption appears to be upgraded in significance during group displays; and in turn, through these activities, which also have implications for the construction and use of all architectural elements in the east part of the settlement, the inhabitants' sociability is upgraded. In general, architectural elements in that part of the settlement, the absence of hearths from the building interiors – which indicates that food preparation took place in open areas with easy access – and indications of communal consumption episodes illustrate the increased importance that collective practices had for the life of the community.

It is suggested that collective activity of any kind contributes to the social cohesion and stability of the group. Also, it is posited that, through the repetition of collective activities, the participants acquire common perceptions, shape values jointly, and highlight their identity (Bourdieu 1990, 222–30). Hence, on a communal



Figure 23.13 A seal, pin and beads of steatite.

level, the people of Proskynas formulated the necessary fields of activity, within which their social strategy was manifested; a strategy through which they promoted the strengthening of existing bonds between people and households, reinforcing social solidarity. Furthermore, participation in collective consumption episodes could offer opportunities for the development of competitive action, such as competition between individual traders. These processes have the potential on occasions to highlight and at other times to mask the nature of social relations between participants (Hodder 1982). Essentially, an imaginary environment of social dialogue is created; one more arena in which people participate, communicate and influence one another, while at the same time meanings and values are exchanged within the same context.

The social context in the earlier phases of the Early Bronze Age

It has been argued that in this period settlements in the Cyclades established a prominent role in maritime trade as well as the production and, via burial, conspicuous consumption of prestige objects in pottery, marble, metal

and other media (Broodbank 2000, 211). At this time, the physical frameworks in which activities constructed nodes of interaction are impressively few. According to Marthari (2017, table 12.1) the real foci of social power are few, such as Skarkos on Ios, Dhaskalio on Keros, Grotta and Aplomata on Naxos, Chalandriani on Syros, Manika on Euboea (Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1986), Thebes (Konsola 1984), Lithares (Tzavella-Evjen 1984) and Proskynas. Where, in fact, can we detect the centrality and the borders? What has to be emphasised is that elements of material culture, referred to as the Kampos group (Renfrew 1972), have appeared in the Early Bronze Age in domestic contexts in the north, such as in East Lokris and at Lithares in Boeotia. On the other hand, in Attica, frying pans have been found in mortuary arenas, like Tsepi (Pantelidou Gofa 2005) and Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959), or in pits at Palaia Kokinia (Theoharis 1951).

It is argued that the intensification of communication and the involvement of the inhabitants in smaller or greater networks of social interaction have to be the main social structure which underpins the social identity of any settlement (Kotsakis 2004). As places accrue value, places become arenas of social power in which important and everyday cultural activities are carried out by individuals and groups in pursuit of their own cultural and social goals. The definition and explanation of time-space sequences as arenas of social power therefore constitutes an important goal in prehistory.

At the same time the negotiation of material wealth and material possessions emphasises the creation of networks of alliance that play an important role in the reproduction of social relations, in the strengthening of social cohesion, through the shared understanding of symbolic meaning (*e.g.* in elaborate pottery or valuables), but also in the configuration of social roles and identities. By negotiation of material possessions, one may mean all the ways of manipulation of material culture, which includes the production, the acquisition and possession, the consumption, and the exchange of any kind of material culture in variable contexts. More specifically, consumption is connected with a more fluid process that current anthropological and archaeological discourse suggests holds an active role in the reproduction of relationships and in the configuration of social identities.

The presence of objects of high visibility, such as fine decorated ware or other prestigious objects, which may be used or exchanged in the framework of consumption practices, may suggest social messages of belonging and not-belonging (Kotsakis 2010, 69, messages of localisations and of diversity), and could have a role in cultural unification by incorporating both traditional and ancestral values (Chapman 1994); simultaneously, they may play a

key role in the discourse of the creation and emergence of social identities (Tomkins 2007; Kotsakis 2010, 73).

In the settlement at Proskynas there are distinct spatial groups with distinct stylistic features. It is suggested that areas were being created, based on these styles, which reflects a conscious effort toward diversity both in production and consumption (Zahou 2009, 213; Broodbank 2000, 211–16). As noted, zones distinguished by pottery style form regional traditions, characterising settlements at smaller or greater distance. Tradition in the settlement was largely determined by the mobility of the inhabitants themselves, as is clear at Lithares. People were actively involved in creating common fields of social action with other communities, which promoted processes of socialisation and in parallel propelled ties of unity and dependence with other settlements. The tradition in the settlement was formed and delimited by social factors, strategies developed by the inhabitants which enabled them to participate in wide contacts. If we accept that a social group is defined by its limitations compared with other groups, then mutable boundaries form the distinct characteristics of every social group (Kotsakis 2006, 94). Therefore, the political and social importance of the consumption of artefacts relates to the dynamic and critical process of maintaining these boundaries, while promoting social correlations.

And vice versa, it is this common action between different social groups, as changeable or complex as it may be, that determines the meaning and social value of objects. Moreover, the consumption is closely related to productive activity and exchange. As social roles direct consumption, exchange allows consumers to manipulate the value of the objects consumed. The negotiation of social status is directly linked to the ways in which value is constructed through objects (Ingold 1993), value that is not an inherent property of objects but human interpretation (Miller 1985, 180–2, 204–05; Zahou 2009, 212–15). Consequently, consumption and exchange represent a network of commitments and obligations, a chapter of rights and obligations. This is the symbolic capital, which is probably the most valuable source of accumulation (Geertz 2003, 192–4). A continually socialised landscape was created by the movement of people and goods over longer and shorter distances (Kotsakis 2008, 56). By that theoretical approach human agency is considered active in historical contexts, overcoming physical barriers imposed by natural features that are usually perceived as determining factors.

The Proskynas settlement provided both a coastal harbour and access to the Euboean gulf. The activity in the settlement presents the image of a harbour community which was not merely a reception centre for a substantial quantity of raw material or prepared commodities.

Movement was not unidirectional from the islands to the mainland (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1986). It is very likely that inhabitants from coastal settlements of the mainland could travel to the islands of the Aegean to obtain raw materials such as marble, obsidian, metals, or steatite. Until recently emphasis has been given to the central role of voyaging by Cycladic traders, such as regionally specific cultural, trading and voyaging regimes from the Cyclades to Attica, Euboea, or the Peloponnese. It was suggested that in early EB II the control, use and consumption of exotica continued to play a major role in the settlements beyond the Cyclades, even if it was acceptable that imports from the Greek mainland, such as the yellow-blue mottled sauceboats, represent an accumulation which was attested at bigger islands, such as Kavos on Keros and Ayia Irini on Keos (Broodbank 2000, 309).

We may suppose that the 'social currency of Cycladic ways of doing things' (Broodbank 2000, 306) sounds now, after years of research, a little bit excessive, since the social role of creating bonds between coastal communities in the mainland and the islands is important. The appearance of frying pans with incised or impressed decoration in domestic contexts at Proskynas and at Lithares reveals the dynamics of the new communities of central Greece in the formation of social networks either as production centres or as centres of consumption. It is worth noting that in these settlements exotic artefacts were revealed in the area of buildings and not in the cemetery context. It may be argued that this cultural elision is best explained as the result of regular longer-range movement along maritime corridors since the Final Neolithic (Psimogiannou 2008).

Moreover, the settlements of the Early Bronze II period were well-built villages with rich agricultural production (pointing to cohesion) and open to the world (shown by exchange or local imitations of foreign products). The movement of people it is an expression of cultural dynamics, through and between interaction spheres. Movement is a recurrent feature in the Mediterranean, whether organised or not (Kotsakis 2008, 57–8).

We accept that 'contextualized perspective processes and actions behind the phenomena emerge in their complexity and their own continuous and mutual interaction' (Kotsakis 2008, 55). The Kampos 'package' did not contain only things, i.e., expressions of material culture, symbolism and design, but also relations and levels of significance, eventually much more than the artefacts and techniques (Broodbank 2000, esp. fig. 102). Generally we put forward the suggestion that the community was defined to a large extent by the mobility of the inhabitants themselves, who created communication hubs and social centres through the Euboean gulf. The latter was a terrain of activity during the whole of the Early Bronze Age. The inhabitants actively participated in the creation of common fields of activity

with other communities, through which socialisation processes were facilitated.

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Dodecanese and Asia Minor Littoral

EARLY CYCLADIC FIGURINES FROM VATHY, ASTYPALAIA

Andreas Vlachopoulos & Anastasia Angelopoulou

The site of Vathy

Archaeological fieldwork at the site of Vathy on Astypalaia has been conducted since 2011 under the scientific aegis of the Archaeological Society at Athens and with funding from the University of Ioannina (Petrakos 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014; Vlachopoulos 2012; 2013a; 2013b; 2014; 2015; Vlachopoulos & Matthaiou 2013; Vlachopoulos forthcoming). Initial research at the site, with the aim of protecting the important antiquities there, was carried out by Professor Emeritus Christos Doumas in 2008 (Petrakos 2008; Doumas 2010).

Vathy is a naturally protected peninsula controlling the narrow access from the open sea to the gulf of the same name, thus ensuring full monitoring of a wide area of sea and land (Fig. 24.1). At the tip of the promontory, on Cape Elliniko, a terrace-walled settlement was founded in the early 3rd millennium BC, the boulder-built circuit and retaining walls of which are visible today over an appreciable area (Figs 24.1, 24.6). On the upper level of the headland, a tower with surrounding ancillary buildings was built, probably in the late 4th century BC, further evidence that Vathy was an important harbour and surveillance point for sea routes in the central Aegean.

The systematic survey of the site

In recent years (2012–15) a systematic surface survey was conducted at the east end of the cape, over an area that includes the visible remains of the Early Bronze Age circuit and retaining walls, Π-shaped formations along the length of the rocky coasts, the Hellenistic tower complex and numerous human-made constructions expanding far towards the western half of the Vathy peninsula (Figs 24.1, 24.7). In the course of the surface survey of Cape Elliniko, a large quantity of diagnostic pottery of the 3rd millennium BC and historical times was collected, along with stone tools and vessels, metal objects, a few architectural fragments, bronze coins and other artefacts (Vlachopoulos 2012, 118–19 pls 88b–92a; 2013a, 217–18 fig. 3, pl. 128b–c; 2014, 94–5 pls 76b–78). The lower half of an EC I violin-shaped figurine, collected earlier by C. Doumas (Vlachopoulos 2012, 121, pl. 97) and significant quantities of surface pottery and other related finds (Fig. 24.8) redefine the geographical horizon of Early Cycladic culture, demonstrating that Astypalaia was part of its ambit (Vlachopoulos forthcoming; Fig. 24.2).

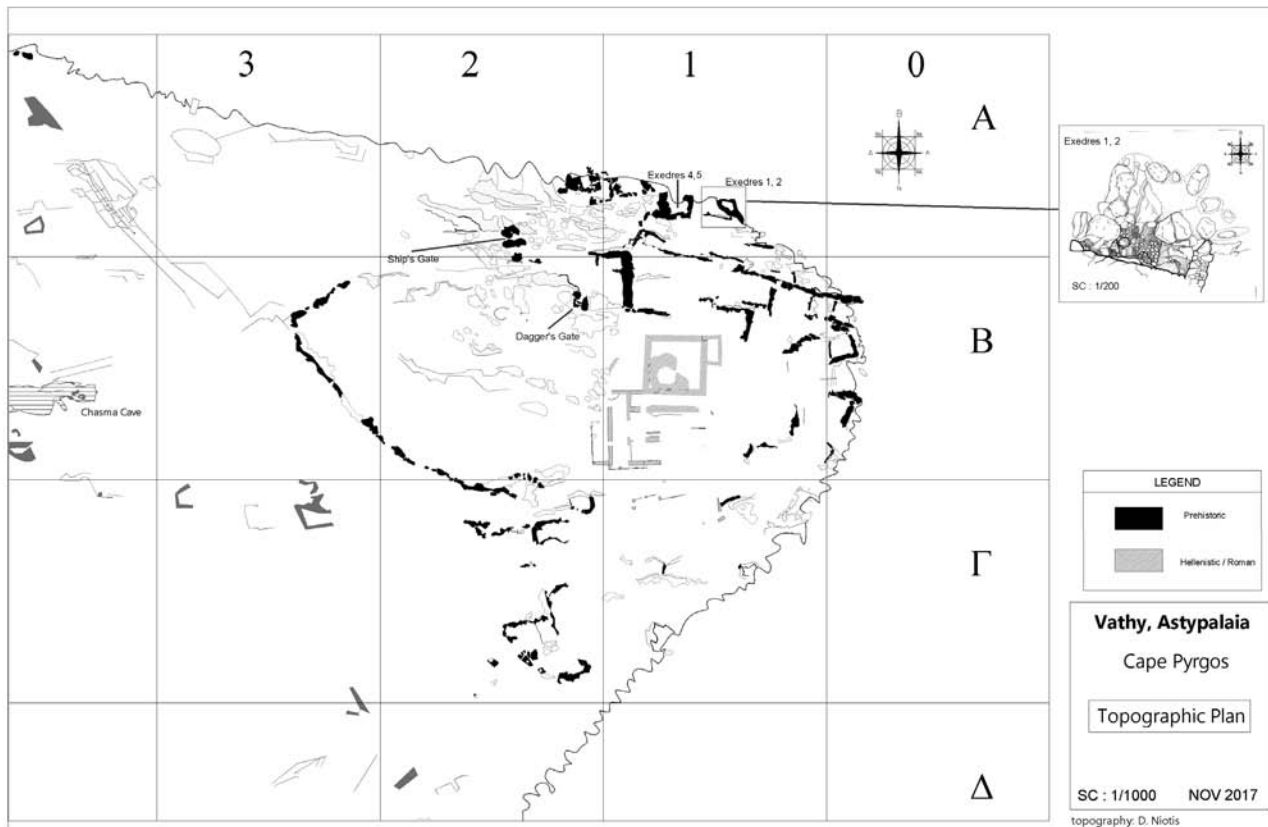
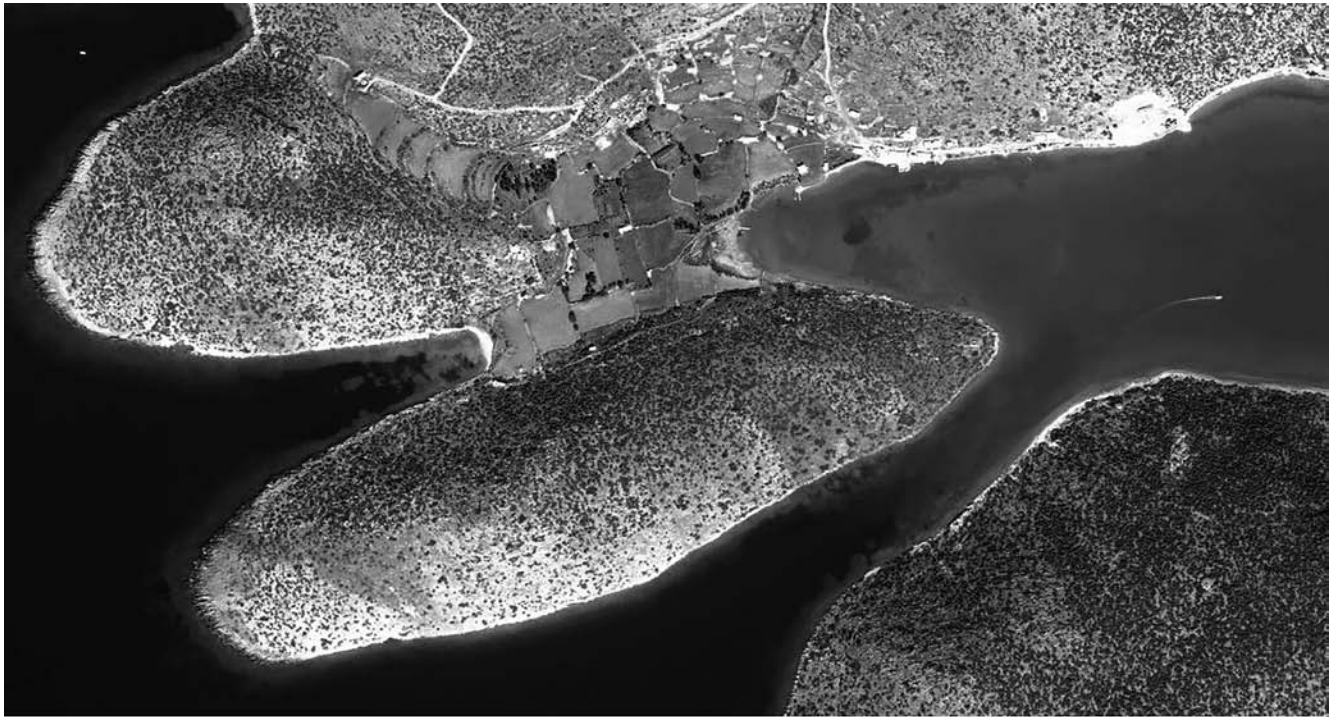


Figure 24.1 Top: Vathy, aerial photograph of the Pyrgos peninsula. The archaeological site occupies the easternmost tip of the promontory (Cape Elliniko). Bottom: topographic plan with the surface constructions.

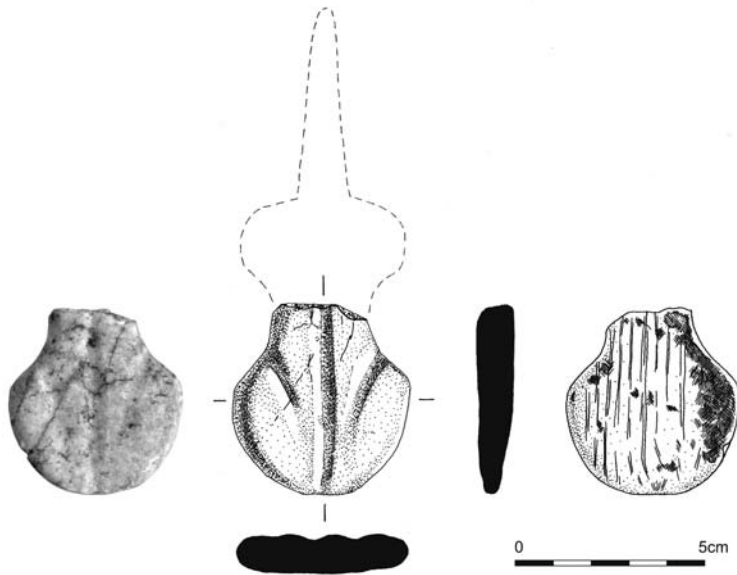


Figure 24.2 Vathy. Violin-shaped marble figurine collected by C. Doumas in 2008 (AAM99). Scale 1:2.

Lower half of a schematic (violin-shaped) marble figurine (AAM99) (Fig. 24.2)

White marble with light grey veins

Height 48 mm; width 43 mm; thickness 8 mm

The frontal side is decorated and well-polished. A deep vertical groove along the middle of the body ends at the rounded edge of the figurine and two oblique, asymmetrical grooves converge towards it, as an imitation of the legs. The vertical groove is a rare characteristic of violin figurines: on this type, see parallels from Antiparos and Dhespotiko (Rambach 2017, 70–5, figs 7.3–7.4).

The most important find from the systematic survey was the recognition and identification of a large number of prehistoric rock carvings over a wide area of rocks on the cape, both quarried and natural (Vlachopoulos 2013b; 2012; 2013a; 2014; 2015). It was ascertained that in three cases of pathways terminating at gateways or entrances to the Early Cycladic acropolis there were large-scale rock carvings of ships (up to 0.70 m long: Figs 24.9, 24.10), daggers (up to 0.30 m long: Figs 24.11, 24.12) and spirals (up to 0.20 m in diameter: Figs 24.13, 24.14), which, despite the long exposure to the erosive effects of wind and sea, can be distinguished satisfactorily, particularly at sunrise (Vlachopoulos 2012, 119–20, pls 92b–95; 2013a, 217–18, pl. 124; 2014; 2015). More rock carvings (of spirals, quadrupeds, rectangles or chequerboards, arrows, human figures etc) were identified at other points on the cape, such as the boulders of the retaining walls along the coast, the quarried slopes and the bedrock on the upper level of the cape, where the tower was founded centuries later (Vlachopoulos 2012, 120–1, pls 96, 98; 2013a, 218–19, 221, pls 123a, 125–6, 134; 2014, 94, pl. 76a; 2015).

The typological recognition of the ‘pecked’ oared ships as absolutely correspondent to those depicted on Early Cycladic II frying-pan vessels from Chalandriani on Syros and the rock carvings from Korphi t’Aroniou on Naxos make the find at Vathy exceptionally important (Vlachopoulos 2012, 119–20, pls 92b–93b; 2013a, 217–18, pls. 124a–b; 2013b; 2014, 240, figs 14, 16; 2015, 318–19, figs 3, 6; see in detail Vlachopoulos forthcoming). Three ships are represented with fish on their prow on the ‘Ship’s Gate’ (Figs 24.9, 24.10) and at least one individual ship is depicted on the flat rocks of the south coast. Further typological comparisons with the numerous rock-carved ships of Strofilas, Andros (Televantou 2008, 47–8, fig. 6.8; 2017, 42, fig. 5.7) might bridge the iconographic gap of the 4th millennium BC and prove that such vessels appear as early as during the Aegean Final Neolithic. Spirals, the best-known motif of Early Cycladic art, are very densely distributed in the settlement, and are also encountered on the flat upper level of the

acropolis. Vertically positioned daggers (small swords) with their T-shaped hilt fully formed cover the perpendicular surface of another gateway or entrance (Vlachopoulos 2012, 120, pl. 94), being the only ones known among the Final Neolithic and Early Cycladic rock carvings of the islands (Andros, Naxos, Herakleia). The secure typological attribution of these daggers to EC II (Keros-Syros culture) further supports a mid-3rd millennium BC habitation horizon for the settlement at Vathy (Renfrew 1967, 10–12, pls 5, 7, 8, 9; Branigan 1977, 120). However, a miniature mid-rib bronze dagger from Strofilas (Televantou 2006, 10, fig. 8a) pushes back the manufacture of such weapons to the Final Neolithic or Chalcolithic period, at least in the Cyclades (Vlachopoulos forthcoming).

‘Exedres’ 1 and 2 and the infant pot burials

Of particular interest are the dense succession of human-made Π-shaped constructions along the north and east rocky coast of the promontory (Fig. 24.1; Vlachopoulos 2012, 116–18, figs 1–2, pls 98, 99a). The easternmost of the three adjoining ones along the north coast is an ellipsoidal low flat platform (K 17), today partly submerged, measuring 3.5 m × 1.5 m (Fig. 24.23; Vlachopoulos 2012, 122, fig. 1, pls 99b–100). Its south landward rectangular section is barely above sea level. The western half of this ‘Exedra’ 1 was found roughly paved by medium-size stones, on which at least two vases containing bones of newly born infants were found *in situ* (Figs 24.1, 24.15).

The first *enchytrismos* (brought to light during a surface cleaning in the 2012 survey) is a Final Neolithic – Early Bronze Age I collar-necked *krateriskos* (Fig. 24.36) carefully covered with a green stone lid (Fig. 24.16; Vlachopoulos 2012, 122, pls 99b–100). A stone slab vertically placed to the west of the upstanding vase was probably a grave marker for the burial. As soon as the solid earth mass of its content was removed the bones of an infant were identified in the area of the missing bottom of the vase, originally wrapped in cloth, some parts of which were found fossilised (Fig. 24.17; Vlachopoulos 2013a, 215, fig. 3, pls 117–18. Micro-excavation of the infant pot burials was undertaken by Prof. S. Hillson, UCL).

The second pot burial was found at a close distance to the south (Figs 24.18, 24.35; Vlachopoulos 2013a, 215–17, fig. 3, pls 119–20; Vlachopoulos 2014, 244, drawing 7). The large Final Neolithic – Early Bronze Age I bowl (*phiale*) that was brought to light on the ‘Exedra’ 1 proved to have been deposited broken and with its base missing as well; it contained the skeletal remains of two infants. The first was a newborn and the second was about five months old. Two more fragmentary (broken) Final Neolithic – Early Bronze Age I vases (a deep bowl being one of them) had been also used to contain this infant pot burial (Fig. 24.19).

The possible remnant of a third *enchytrismos* is connected with a pile of fragmentary vases that was found at a higher level of this platform and in contact with its south wall (Fig. 24.15). A section of an obsidian core was found upright, to the east of this pile (Fig. 24.20; Vlachopoulos 2014, 233–6, drawings 1–2, figs 1–4). These vases are likewise dated to Final Neolithic – Early Bronze Age I (Figs 24.21, 24.37), testifying that all pot burials that were placed on the cobbled ‘Exedra’ 1 are synchronous. Despite their contemporaneity it is not clear whether these *enchytrismoi* are connected with a ‘monument’ for infant burials or with a foundation deposit of a house, the floor of which was later destroyed. The complete investigation of the ‘Exedra’ 1 (2015) verified the chronological homogeneity of pottery from this construction, which seems to correspond to a single horizon dated to the Final Neolithic – Early Bronze Age I.

‘Exedra’ 2, adjoining to the west and at a higher level, was actually a small triangular platform facing ‘Exedra’ 1, into which a large-bodied bottomless *krateriskos* (identical to that of the first pot burial) had been perfectly fitted, containing two infants of different age (Fig. 24.15). A pierced stone tool was found very close to this *in situ* pot burial, further evidence of the placement of objects in relation to the dead infants (Fig. 24.22; Vlachopoulos 2014, 236, drawings 1–2, figs 4–6; 2015, 321, fig. 9).

The different level on which each *enchytrismos* was placed makes the ‘Exedres’ 1 and 2 complex very problematic in its interpretation. Future research along the north coast’s

Π-shaped constructions will hopefully shed light on the nature of these adjoining coastal rectangular ‘exedres’ and clarify their ‘extra-muros’ character in relation to the huge retaining walls that also wall the settlement on the upper surface of the cape.

‘Exedres’ 4 and 5

West the of the ‘Exedres’ 1 and 2 complex is the human-made Π-shaped construction Π5 (Figs 24.1, 24.23). As with ‘Exedra’ 1, this platform was also rectangular and its southern wall had been quarried into bedrock. For methodological reasons its eastern part was excavated as ‘Exedra’ 4 and its western section as ‘Exedra’ 5. An unpretentious curving wall made of medium and small stones ran obliquely along the coast retaining successive layers of crusty earth, the hardest of which had been probably exposed to weather (Fig. 24.24). On the top hard layer (a few centimetres below the surface) a circular pink stone or hard clay seal was found, the quadrants of which are filled with incised angular motifs (Figs 24.3, 24.25; Vlachopoulos 2014, 236–8, drawing 3, figs 7–10).

The safe attribution of this motif to EC II, with many examples from Helladic, Cycladic (cf. Ayia Irini, Kea: Caskey *et al.* 1975; Wilson 1999) and Cretan seals, unfortunately is not strengthened by the pottery, for the sherds of this upper layer are worn and difficult to date. An exact parallel of the decoration on the Vathy seal was found on the clay seal found in the unstratified prehistoric horizons of Grotta, Naxos (Pini 1975, 480 no. 603; for more parallels dated to EC II, see Vlachopoulos 2017). The seal was found next to a flat, rounded green slab which covered animal bones. This find, along with the considerable number of stone tools and the minimal presence of pottery, evidences household activity for ‘Exedres’ 4 and 5. Two rectangular constructions along the south wall concur with this assumption: a stone ‘bench’ to the east (in which a cylindrical grinder of green stone was found) and a built ‘cist’ to the west (Fig. 24.23).

On a lower horizon of loose earth, corresponding to the surface of stones of the curving wall and close to it an

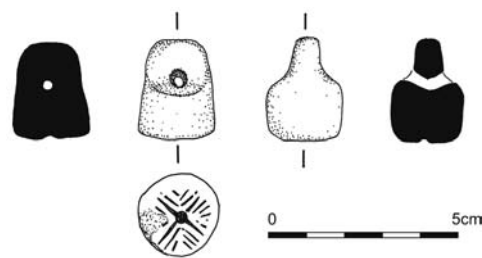


Figure 24.3 Vathy, ‘Exedra’ 5. Stone seal (AAM443). Scale 1:2.



Figure 24.4 Vathy, 'Exedra' 5. Violin-shaped marble figurine (AAM442). Scale 1:2.

intact violin-shaped figurine was found (Figs 24.4, 24.26; Vlachopoulos 2014, 237, fig. 8c).

Schematic (violin-shaped) figurine (AAM442) (Fig. 24.4).

Vathy Excavation No Λ41/OM46.

White fine-grained marble. Whitish crust on most of the surface on both sides.

Height 48 mm; width 17–25 mm; thickness 4 mm.

The figurine's vertical axis is slightly concave. Its lower body is almost rounded but both the indentations and the triangular protuberances that render the 'arms' are asymmetrical. The sloping shoulders end in a pointed neck.

The figurine is not of a common type in terms both of the asymmetry of its outline and of its pointed neck. Typologically it belongs to the schematic figurines of the Beycesultan type (western Anatolia) that safely date to EC I (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 54; Şahoğlu 2011, 287 no. 198, 297 no. 235) but its tapering prominence has a good parallel on a marble figurine from Saliagos (Evans & Renfrew 1968, 63, fig. 76.1, pl. XLIII.1; Renfrew 2017, 27 fig. 3.7), dated to the early stages of the Late Neolithic (Zachos 1996a, 85, fig. 3). Another interesting parallel, with identical rendering of the 'arms', rounded lower body and conical neck, was found in the Malkayasi cave, on the north slope of the Latmos-Beşparmak mountains in Western Anatolia, and dates to the Late Neolithic (5000–4500 BC; Peschlow-Bindokat & Gerber 2012, 74, fig. 41).

What makes the Astypalaia figurine more interesting is the fact that, despite its morphological features that allude to a Late Neolithic tradition, following the excavation evidence of Vathy it should be associated with the horizon of Final Neolithic – Early Bronze Age I.

At a distance of some centimetres, a 'pestle-shaped' figurine(?) of fine white marble was found, the cylindrical stem of which is broken (Fig. 24.5; Vlachopoulos 2014, 237, fig. 8d).

Possible schematic figurine (AAM495) (Fig. 24.5).

Vathy Excavation No Λ36/OM41.

White fine-grained marble, surfaces very well polished.

Height 35 mm; stem diameter 6–8 mm; head height 13 mm; weight 4 gr.

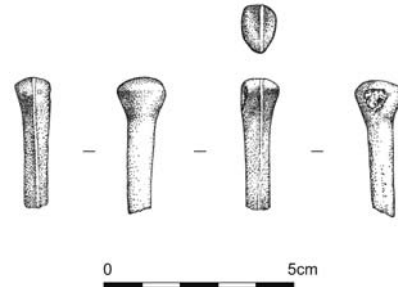


Figure 24.5 Vathy, 'Exedra' 5. Marble EC 'pestle-shaped' figurine (AAM495). Scale 1:2.

The cylindrical stem broadens to an almond-shaped oblique triangular 'head', along which there is a light symmetrical carination that continues on the long 'neck'.

The long neck and the amorphous head resemble some schematic marble figurines dated to the Late Neolithic (Saliagos: Renfrew 2017, 27 fig. 3.8) and Final Neolithic (Strofilas: Televantou 2017, 44–5, figs 5.12–13). To the long-necked type also belong clay figurines from the Late Neolithic settlement of Ftelia, Mykonos (Sampson 2017, 31–3, figs 4.1–5) and also from Final Neolithic Strofilas (Televantou 2017, 45–6, figs 5.14, 5.19); these are considered among the last examples of the expiring Neolithic tradition of clay figurines.

Schematic figurines of the Vathy types are very few in the early EBA Aegean and the fact that both artefacts were found in the same horizon of activity indicates their synchronous use. Their characteristics and typological parallels further document the Final Neolithic or Chalcolithic cultural background that lies behind the earlier period of activity (Early Bronze I) known so far at Vathy (Vlachopoulos forthcoming).

The carelessly constructed wall that runs obliquely along 'Exedres' 4 and 5 (Figs 24.23, 24.26) seems to retain the layers of earth that were described above, as if the construction Π5 had suffered some severe damage and its northern section was in danger of collapsing.

The rescue excavation of the construction Π5 reached the bedrock (2016) and the complete study of pottery is expected to make clear the date of construction of the original exedra. Marine geology experts have carried out an investigation of the sea-level rise since the 3rd millennium BC in connection to the Π-shaped constructions along the north coast as well as the scanning of the Vathy gulf seabed. The campaign has been undertaken by Prof. G. Papatheodorou, Laboratory of Marine Geology and Physical Oceanography, Geology Department, University of Patras.



Figure 24.6 The settlement of Vathy, on the promontory of Cape Elliniko (Pyrgos).



Figure 24.7 Boulder-built retaining wall at Vathy.



Figure 24.8 Surface finds from the north coast of Vathy.



Figure 24.9 Rock carving of oared ships at a gateway or entrance to the acropolis.

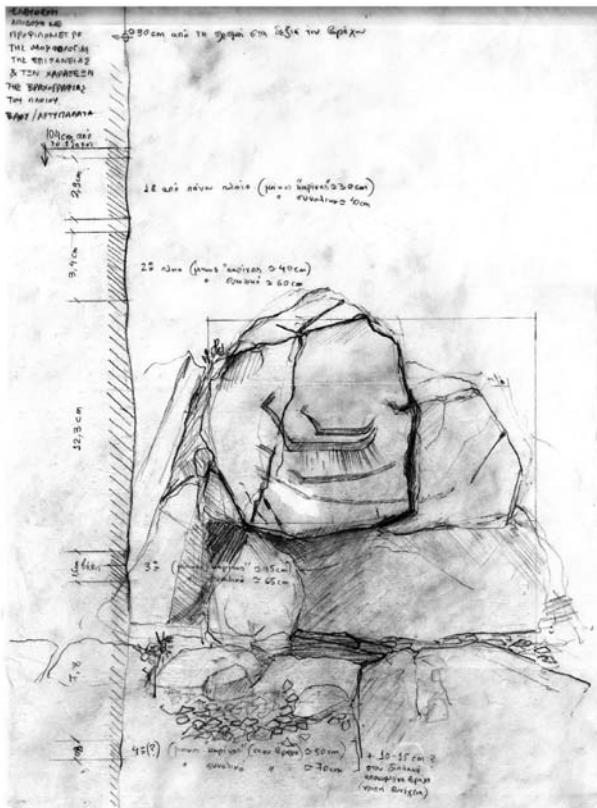


Figure 24.10 Detail of notebook showing the rock-carved ships in Figure 24.9.



Figure 24.11 Rock carvings of daggers.



Figure 24.12 Modern imprint of a rock carving of dagger.

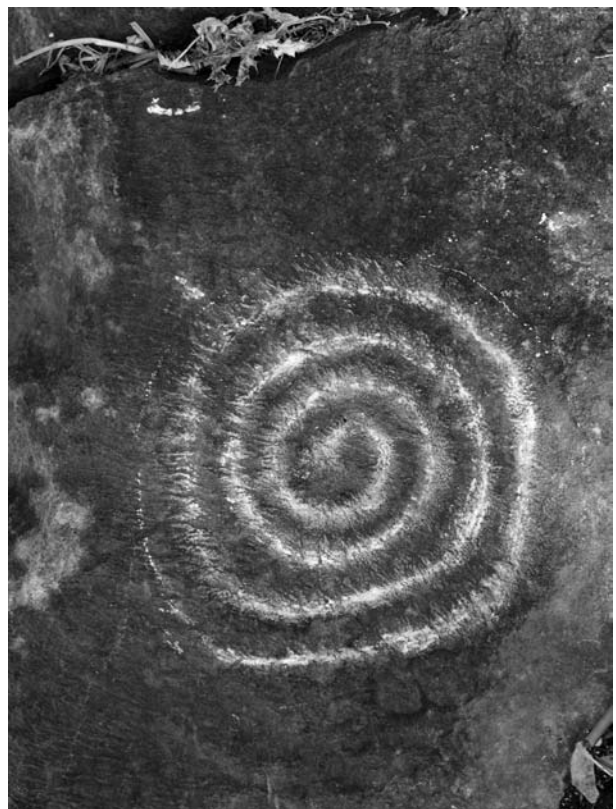


Figure 24.13 Rock carving of spiral.



Figure 24.14 Rock carvings of spirals on the south shore of Vathy.

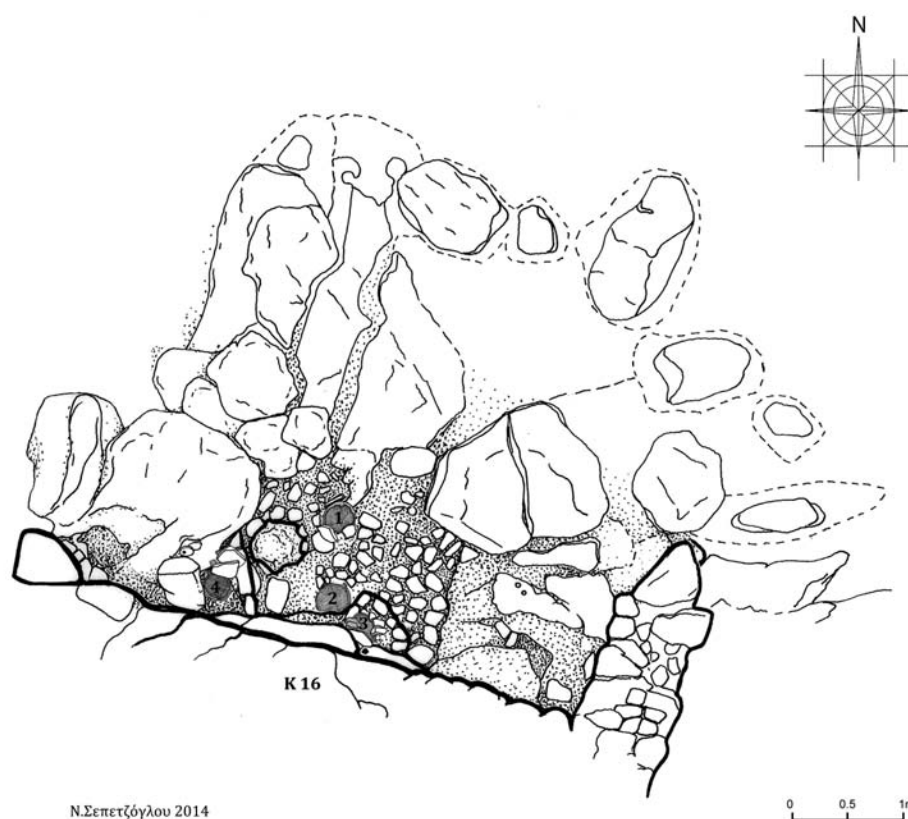


Figure 24.15 'Exedra' 1 with infant pot burials nos. 1–3 and 'Exedra' 2 with infant pot burial no. 4.

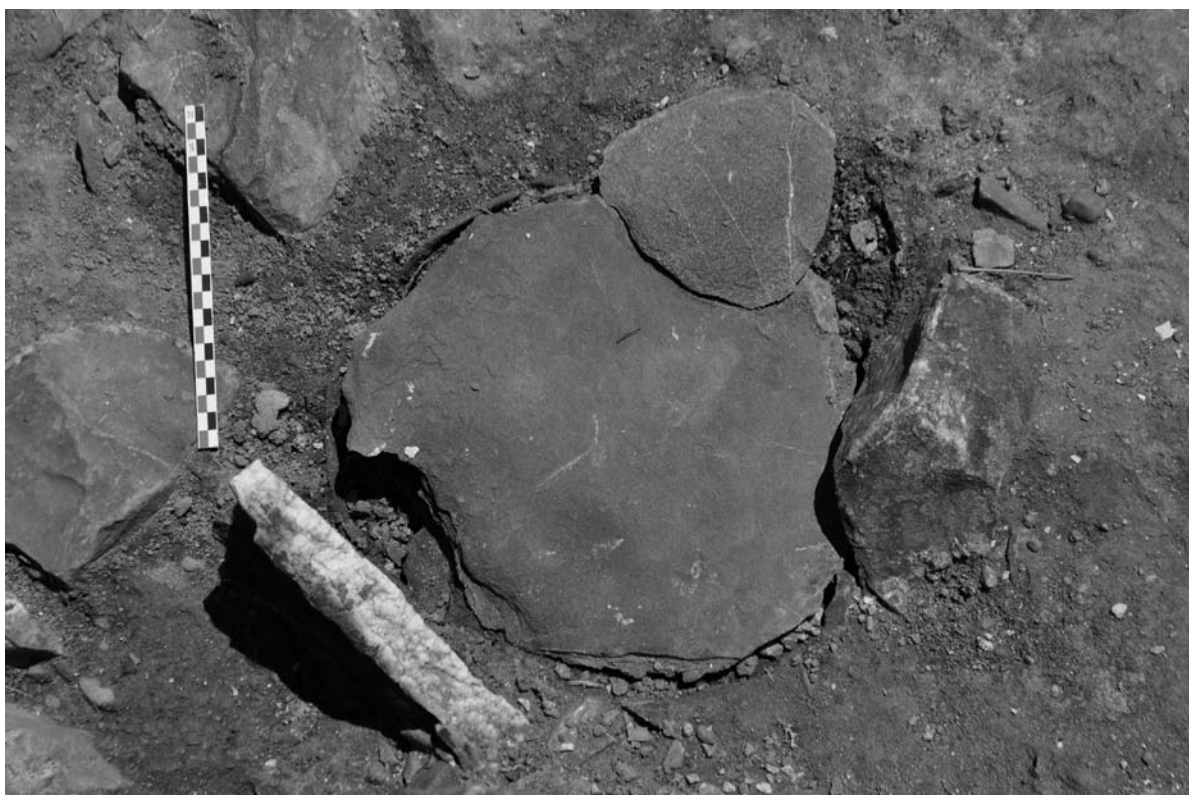


Figure 24.16 Stone lid covering infant pot burial 1.



Figure 24.17 Detail of infant burial 1, with fossilised remains of cloth.

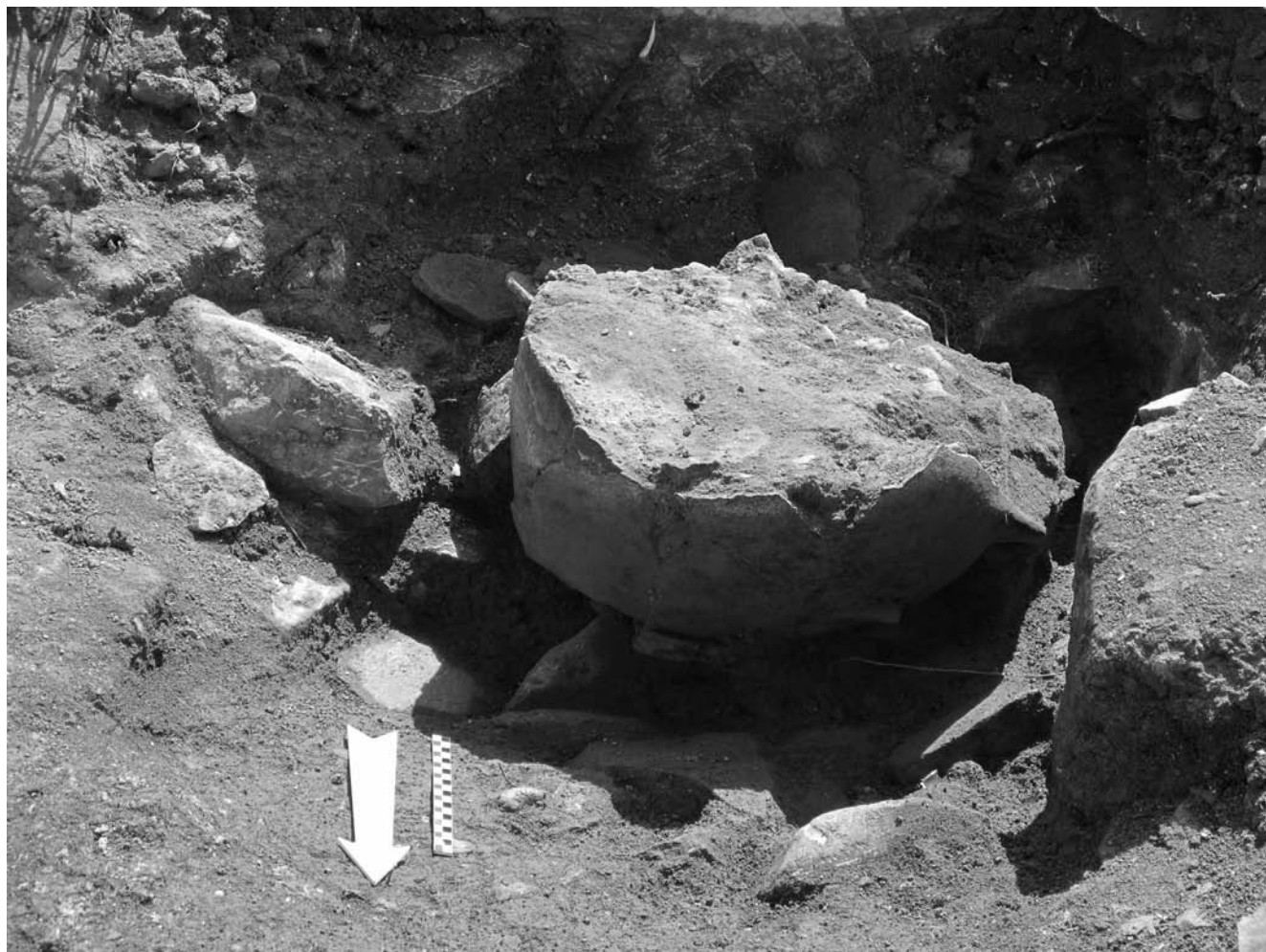


Figure 24.18 Detail of pot burial 2.

Discussion of pottery

The pottery assemblages retrieved from 'Exedres' 1 and 2 and 'Exedres' 4 and 5 are under study. All data presented and discussed in this paper is of preliminary character. Further excavation and study are necessary in order to clarify matters related to the typology and chronology of the finds.

The pottery assemblages from 'Exedres' 4 and 5 are fragmentary and worn; there was not even a partially restorable vessel in the whole group (Figs 24.27–24.32; Angelopoulou forthcoming). The sherd material consists mainly of non-diagnostic body fragments of household wares such as storage vessels, which cannot be assigned to specific shapes. On the other hand, diagnostic rim, handle or base fragments are small in size and very few in number.

The fragmentary nature of the ceramic material shows its context clearly to be a fill. Moreover, there are no pottery groups that can be connected with any specific floor or

use levels. Apart from household wares of every-day use as already noted, the deposit also contained objects found in settlement contexts such as stone tools and obsidian débitage which seems to be the by-product of the local chipped stone industry. Based on the aforementioned evidence, the possibility that the violin figurine and the 'pestle-shaped' possible figurine found in the area of 'Exedres' 4 and 5 also formed part of the same domestic environment cannot be excluded.

The majority of the pottery finds are dated to the EBA. Differences attested in typology as well as in the techniques of manufacture indicate that the artefacts may not belong to a single chronological phase. Furthermore, some of the groups seem to be more or less homogeneous in terms of chronology, while others consist of fragments that do not seem to be synchronous.

In the same level as that of the violin figurine and the possible 'pestle-shaped' figurine, a body fragment with

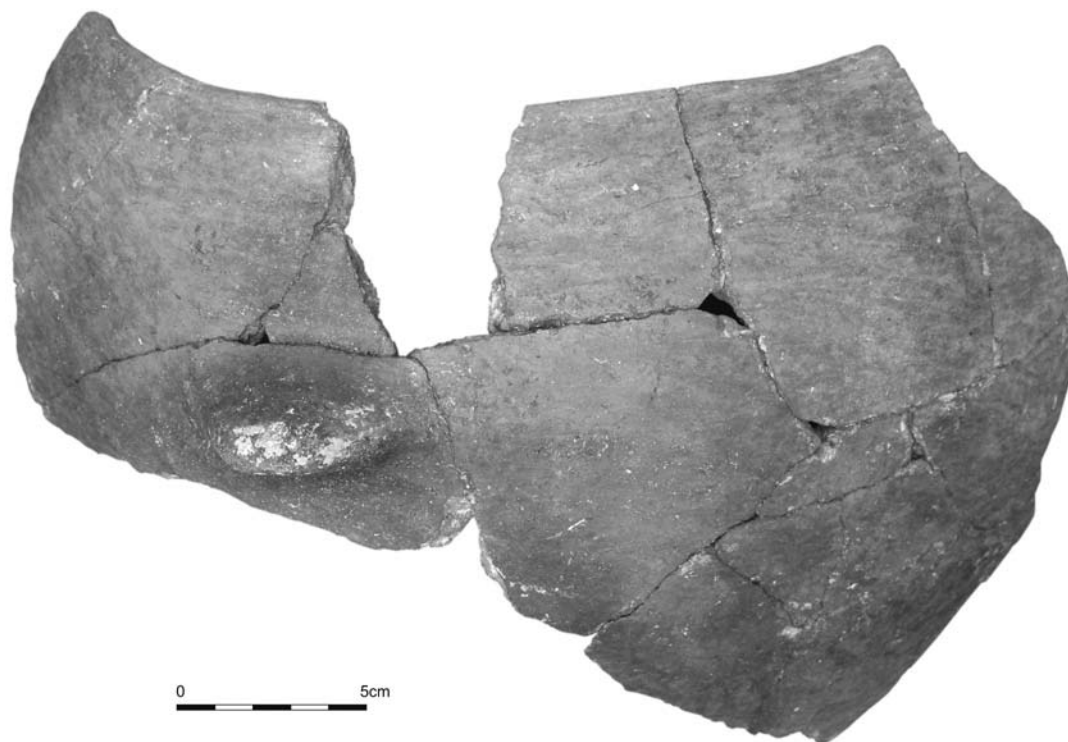


Figure 24.19 Broken vase used as part of pot burial 2.



Figure 24.20 Obsidian core and pile of sherds (possible pot burial 3).

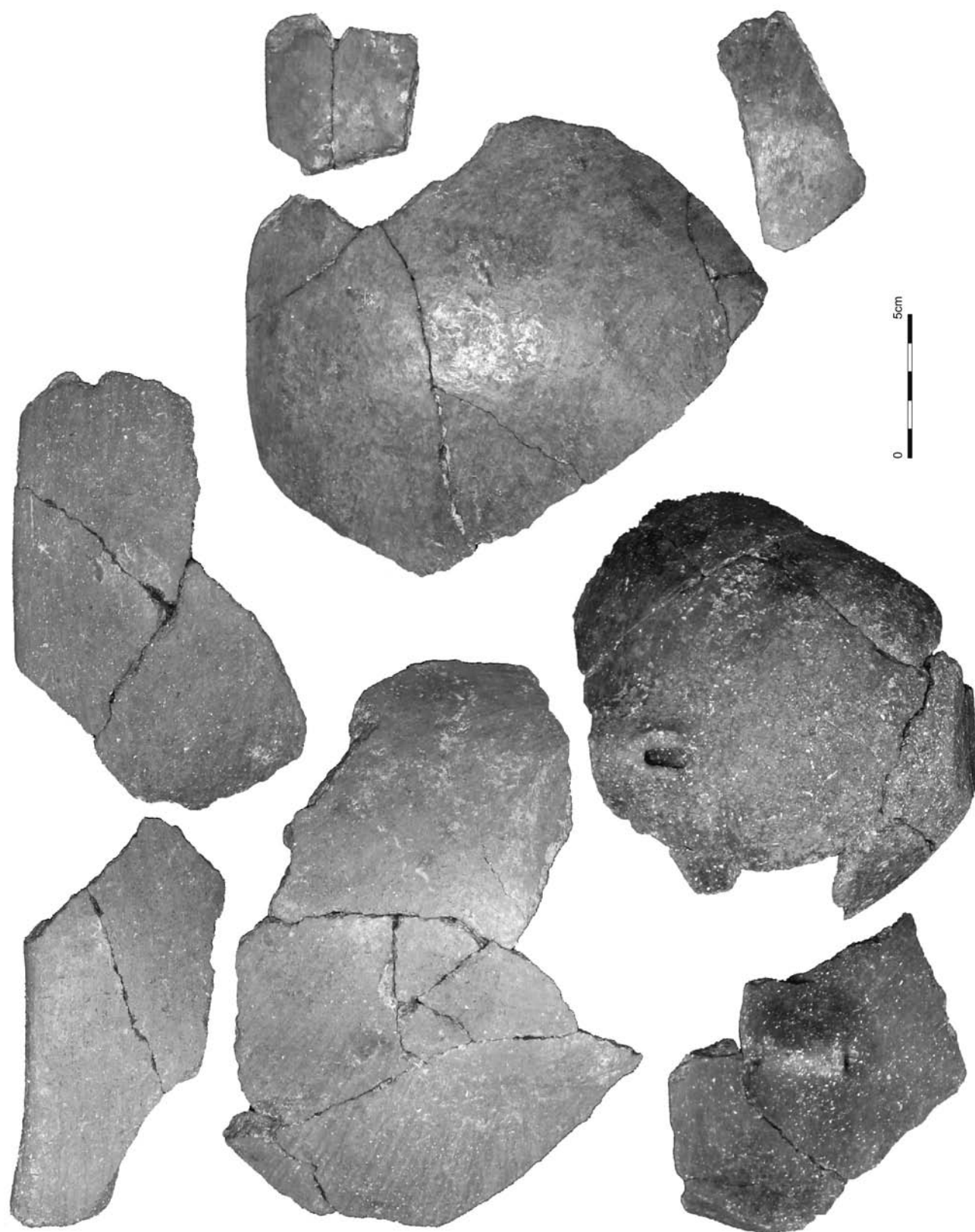


Figure 24.21 Pottery group from 'Exedra' 1 (possible pot burial 3).



Figure 24.22 Exedra 2. Pierced worked stone tool and pot burial 4.



Figure 24.23 'Exedres' 1 and 2 (K16) and 'Exedres' 4 and 5 (Π5).

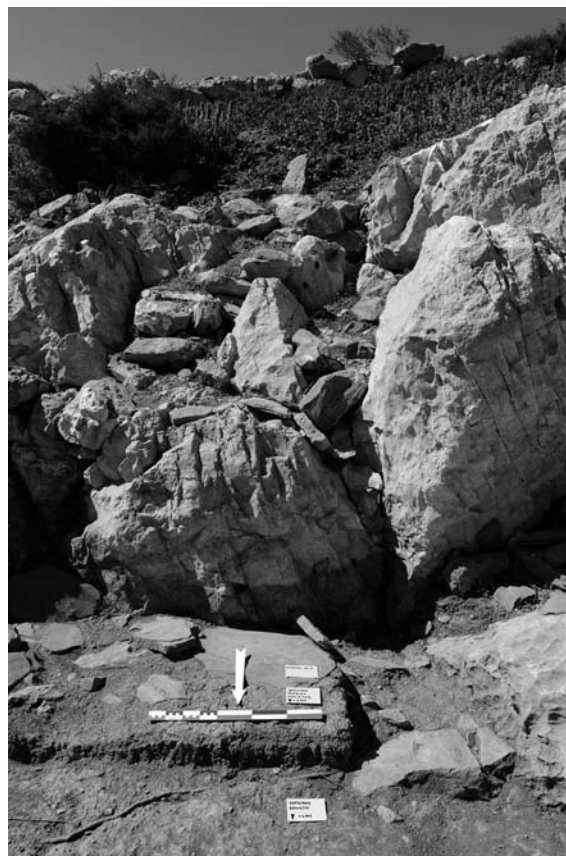


Figure 24.24 'Exedres' 4 and 5. The South wall of the Π-shaped construction.

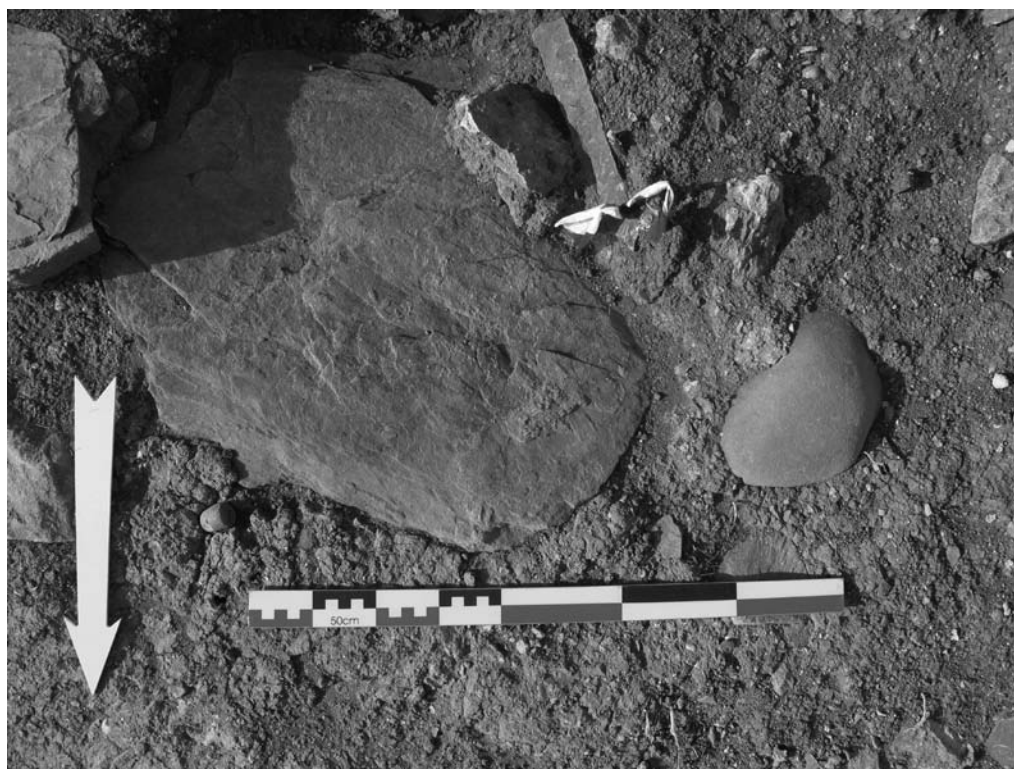


Figure 24.25 'Exedres' 4 and 5. Findspot of stone seal.



Figure 24.26 'Exedres' 4 and 5. Findspot of the schematic marble figurine AAM442.

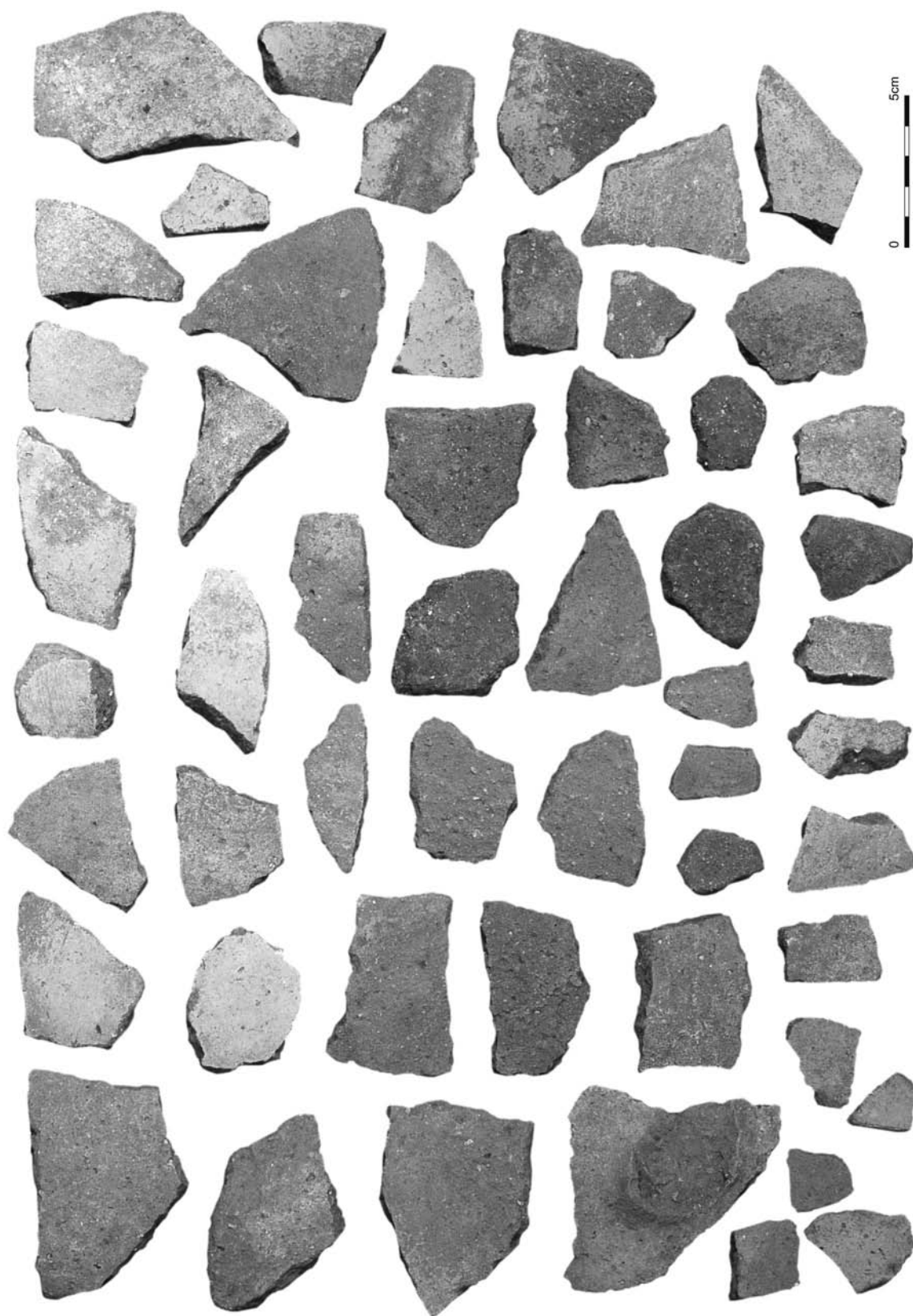


Figure 24.27 Pottery group from 'Exedres' 4 and 5.

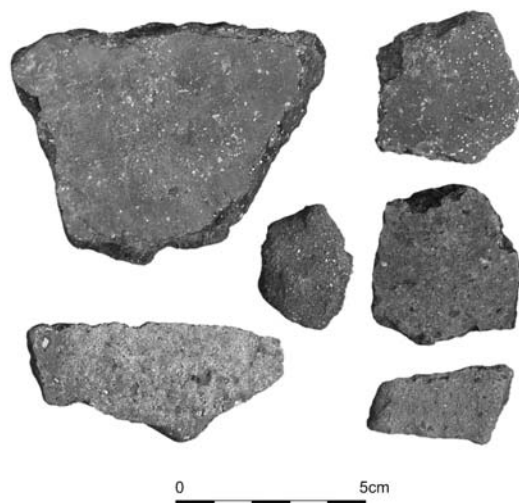


Figure 24.28 Pottery group from 'Exedres' 4 and 5.

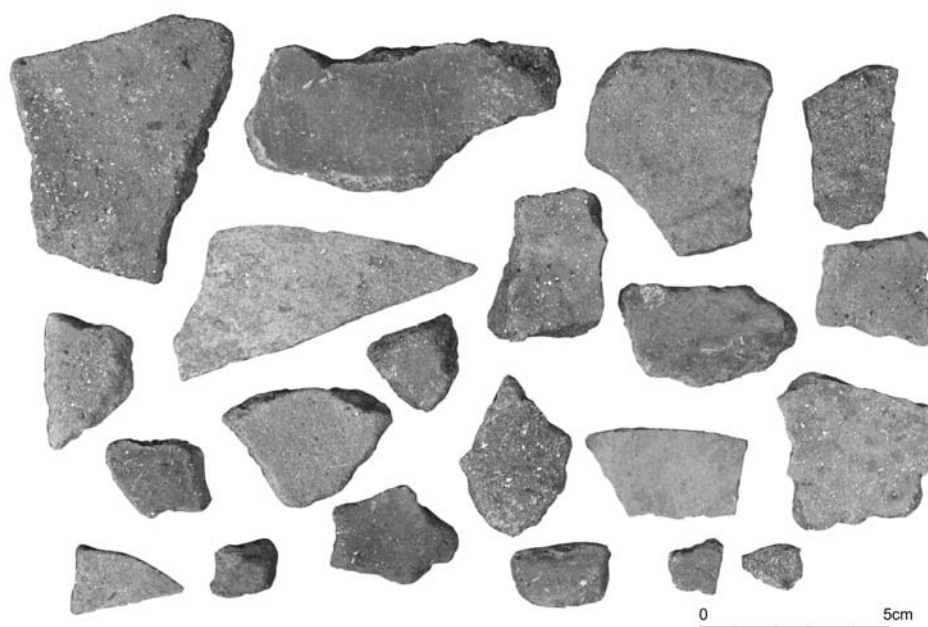


Figure 24.29 Pottery group from 'Exedres' 4 and 5.

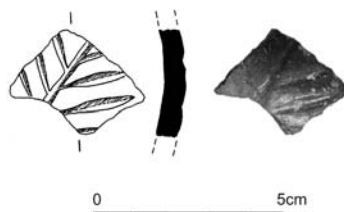


Figure 24.30 Sherd of fine ware vessel of closed shape ('pyxis').

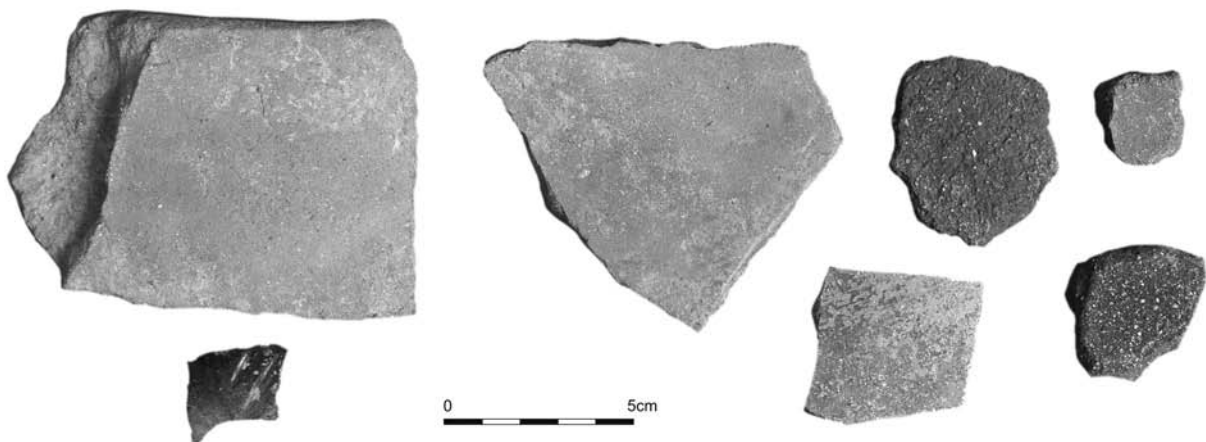


Figure 24.31 The 'pyxis' pottery group.



Figure 24.32 Cheese-pot and rolled-rim bowl fragments.

incurving profile was found. The sherd is part of a fineware vessel of closed shape, possibly a pyxis (Fig. 24.30). The interior surface is black and simply smoothed. The exterior is of the same colour and well-burnished (the possibility that the exterior was originally mottled is indicated by a very small part of the surface which is brown in colour). It is decorated with deep grooves resembling 'herringbone'.

We believe that the aforementioned fragment constitutes an example of 'early' pottery at Vathy, as indicated by its shape, decoration and last but not least its surface treatment. It is reminiscent of a jar fragment with black burnished surface and grooved linear decoration found at the Late Neolithic settlement of Grotta on Naxos (Hadjianastasiou 1988, 18, pl. 1d).

Whether or not the 'pyxis' belongs to a pottery group which is homogeneous in terms of chronology is a question that remains to be answered (Fig. 24.31). It was found together with sherds of storage vessels of non-diagnostic type, which show clear differences in fabric. Fragments of dark brown or black porous clay with many and large

inclusions co-exist with others of large storage vessels made of light brown well-fired clay with few and small inclusions. The surfaces are simply smoothed. In a single example the outer surface of a vase made of light brown clay with no conspicuous inclusions is covered with a thin matt blackish slip.

Whatever the case, the violin figurine and the possible 'pestle-shaped' figurine, along with the 'pyxis' fragment, represent an early phase of activity at the site. The existence of this phase is also indicated by the pottery finds discovered in the nearby area of the infant pot burials ('Exedres' 1 and 2: Angelopoulou forthcoming). We briefly note below a number of characteristic finds such as a rim fragment with regularly spaced perforations that may belong to some kind of cooking vessel or oven ('cheese-pot'), which was found together with a sherd of a rolled-rim bowl with black burnished surfaces (Fig. 24.32). Equally noticeable is part of a bowl with well-burnished dark brown surfaces (Fig. 24.33) and a horizontal tubular lug below the rim (Fig. 24.34). Special reference must also be made to the deep bowl used for the infant burials (No. 2) with a crescent-shaped non-perforated lug (Fig. 24.35). Both the interior and the exterior of the pot are well-burnished and mottled brown or reddish-brown to black. In the same level and close to the bowl with the crescent-shaped lug, a collared vessel with conical neck was discovered (Fig. 24.36), the *krateriskos* containing the infant burial No 1. The vessel has two vertical strap handles attached to the upper part of the body which is carefully smoothed. An incised line marks the junction between the collar and the shoulder. Finally a brief reference must be made to the discovery of a bowl with two vertical cylindrical lugs attached to the upper part of the body (Fig. 24.37), found piled with other

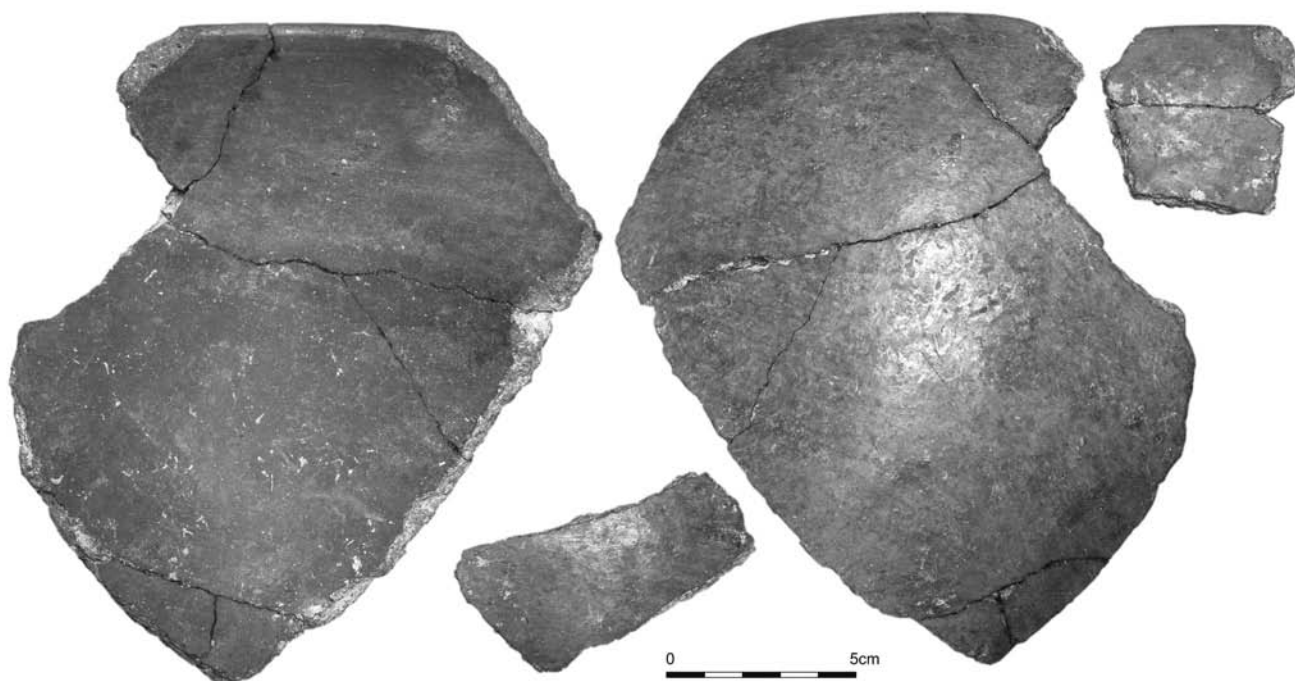


Figure 24.33 Bowl with well-burnished dark brown surfaces.

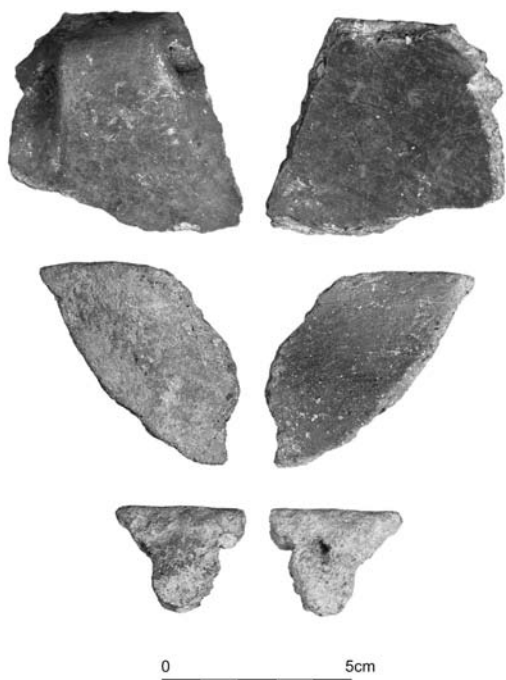


Figure 24.34 The tubular lug of the bowl shown in Figure 24.33.

vases along the south wall of the 'Exedra' 1 (a possible third *enchytrismos*).

The pottery found in the area of the infant pot burials shows a number of features attested during the Late and Final Neolithic periods as well as during the first phase of the Early Bronze Age (EB I) in the Aegean. Close similarities are recognised with comparable finds from Cycladic settlement sites such as Ayia Irini on Keos (period I: Wilson 1999, 10, 13–15, 17, pl. 2,40, nos. I-7, I-12, pl. 4,42, nos I-130, I-135, I-139, pl. 3, 41–2, nos I-94–I-112, pl. 4,43, no. I-169), Markiani on Amorgos (phase I: Karantzali 2006, 102, 104, 106–07, fig. 7.1, nos 1–4, 8–9, fig. 7.2, nos 1, 3–4, 11–12, 14, pl. 29a–b,d–e), Phylakopi on Melos (phase A1: Evans & Renfrew 1984, 64; Renfrew & Evans 2007, 136, 139, 177, fig. 5.1, nos 1–7, fig. 5.3, no. 2, pl. 17a; Barber 2008, 49, fig. 1, nos 3–5), Grotta (Hadjianastasiou 1988, 17–18, pl.1b; Sotirakopoulou 2008, 124) and Zas Cave on Naxos (phase IIb: Zachos 1996b, 88; 1996c, 130). In any case, further fieldwork and research are expected to provide more evidence about this early phase of activity at Vathy, clarifying issues related to its cultural affinities and chronology.

Rim fragments of collared jars with a flaring collar (Fig. 24.38) found in the area of 'Exedres' 4 and 5 represent a markedly different pottery tradition from that of the 'pyxis'. They are made of light grey or brown clay with

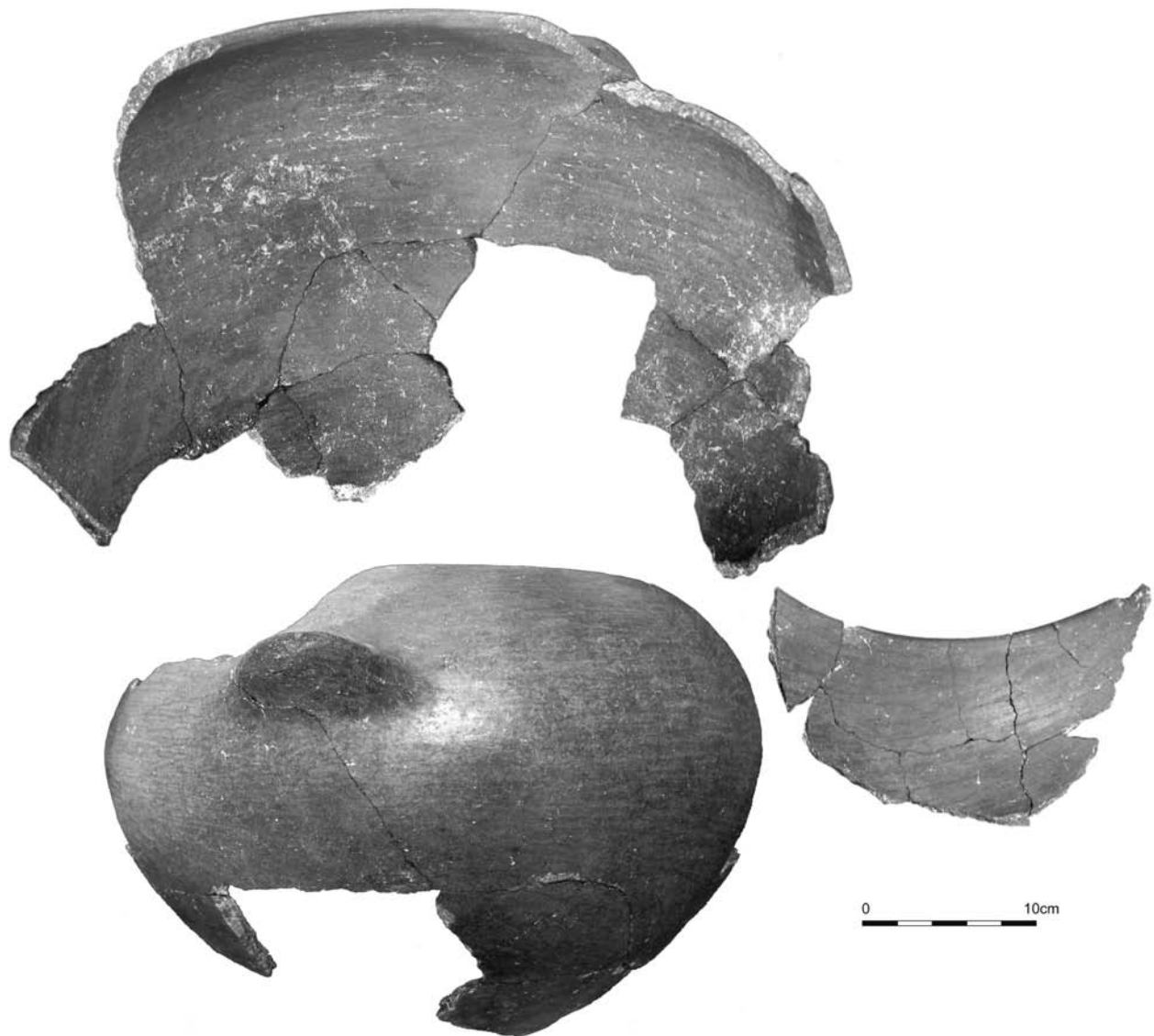


Figure 24.35 Deep bowl used for burial number 2.

inclusions that are few in number and small in size. The surfaces are simply smoothed. Numerous vessels of similar type, found mainly in settlement sites in the Cyclades, Crete and mainland Greece, clearly show that the small fragments from Vathy belong to storage vessels whose basic morphological characteristics are the out-turned rim and the globular or ovoid body that rests on a flat base. Two horizontal arched handles, frequently decorated with radiating incisions on the upper surface, are set at the widest diameter of the body.

Early variants of collared jars appear in the Aegean during the Neolithic period and the first phase of the EBA (EB I). The type becomes popular during the second

phase of the EBA (EB II; for the chronological evolution and distribution of the collared jars in the Aegean, see Angelopoulou 2014, 203–18). In our opinion, the fragments found at Vathy can be associated with EB II as their closest typological parallels are dated to this period. In any case, future excavations are expected to provide larger ceramic deposits that will enable a more detailed study of the chronology of similar finds.

Besides the collared jars, other rim fragments belong to shallow or deep bowls ('Lopas') with curved or straight walls (Fig. 24.39). The evolution of both shapes can be traced as far back as the Neolithic period and EB I (for the basic morphological characteristics, the chronology

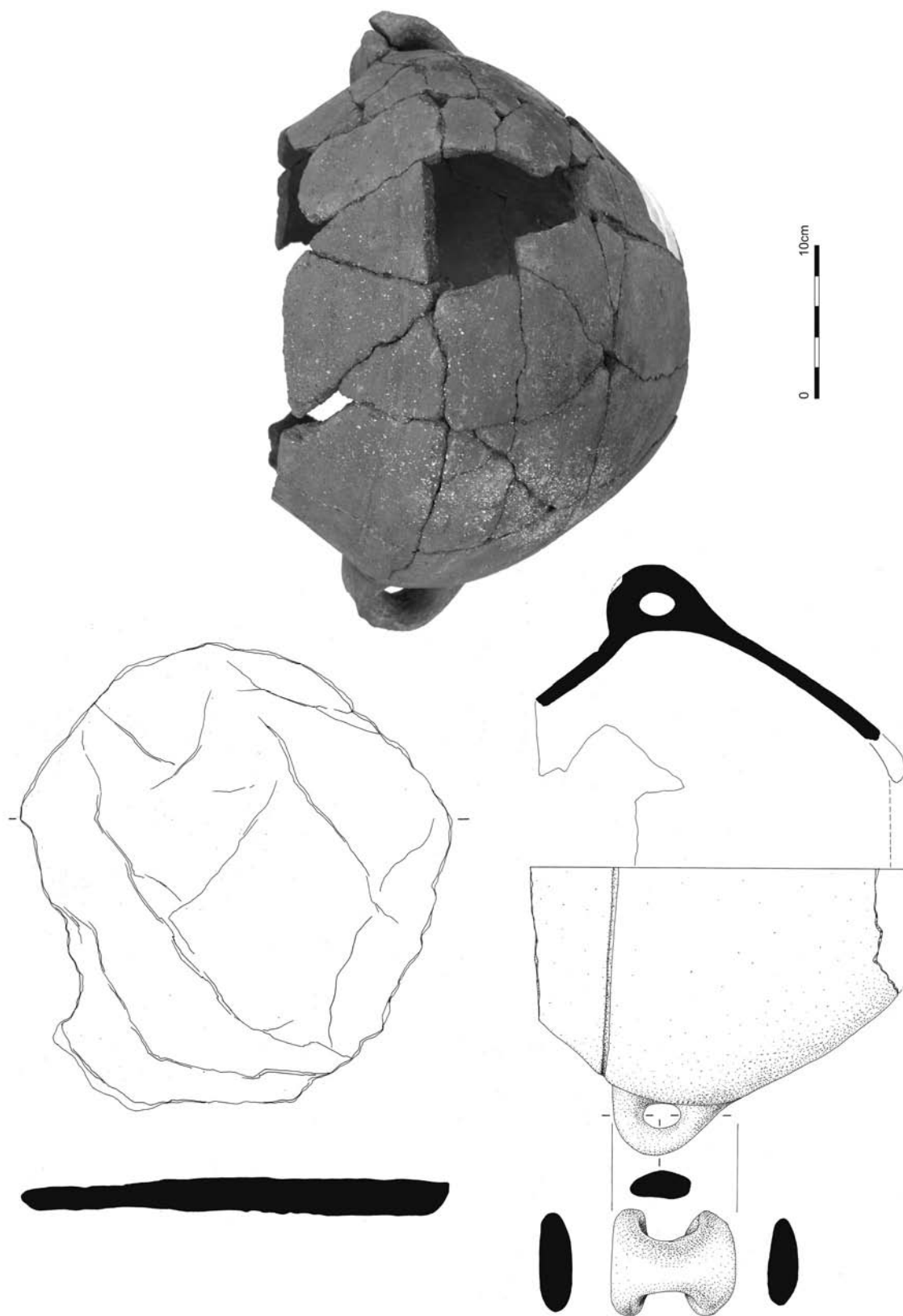


Figure 24.36 Collared vessel used for pot burial 1, with lid.

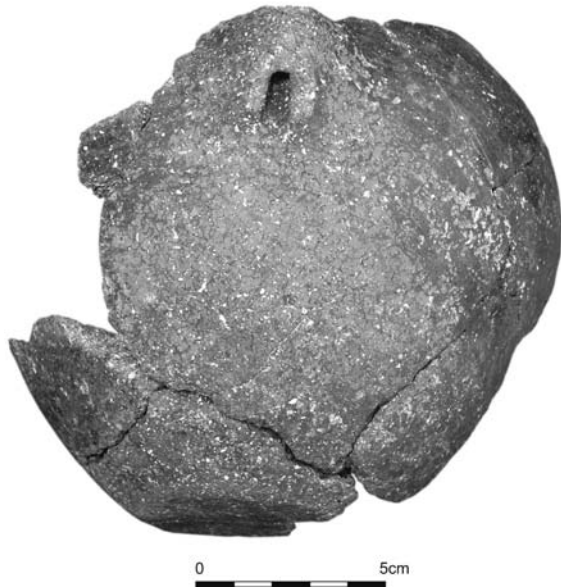


Figure 24.37 Bowl with lugs.

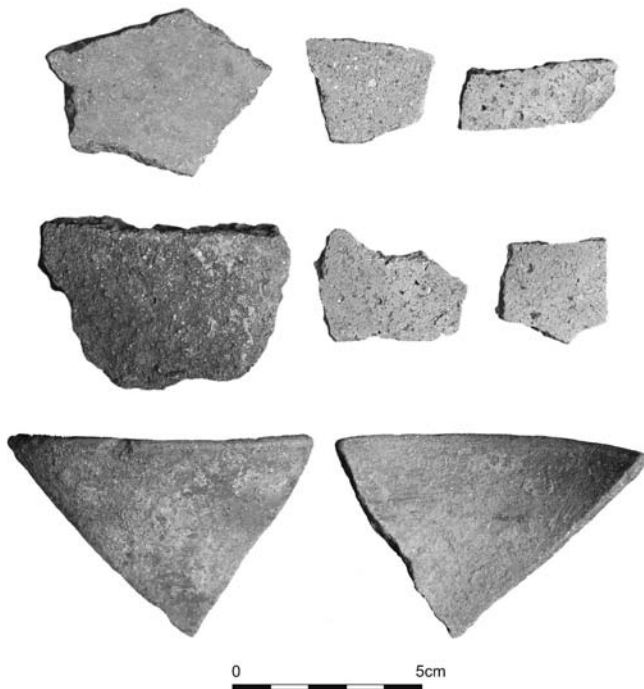


Figure 24.38 Rim fragment of collared jar.

and distribution of the deep bowls or 'Lopas' with curved or straight walls, see Angelopoulou 2014, 141–6). Their production continues during EB II when both types appear more frequently, as indicated by a large number of similar vessels found in settlement sites in the Cyclades and mainland Greece. At this preliminary stage of research it is difficult to date the fragments from Vathy accurately. However, clear similarities in fabric with the collared jar fragments mentioned before indicate the possible association of the finds with the EB II.

In conclusion, the fill excavated in the area of 'Exedres' 4 and 5 contained finds that could be associated with two distinctive chronological phases. The earlier, represented by the violin figurine, the possible 'pestle-shaped' figurine and the 'pyxis', is characterised by elements related to the cultural tradition of the later phases of the Neolithic period and EB I. The later phase can be correlated with EB II. The existence of distinctive chronological phases in the area is also indicated by the surviving architectural remains, which also seem to correspond to different phases of occupation. In that case, the fill which was probably created during the EB II, based on later objects, was deposited here in order to cover the earlier surviving remains so as to facilitate the subsequent habitation of the area.

Considering both the surface and excavation data from Vathy, we could support the view that the cape was inhabited during two successive periods or phases. The first is dated by features pointing to the latest Neolithic or Early Bronze Age I, into which the three marble figurines and the infant pot burials are included. The second habitation phase is dated to EB II, and includes characteristic ceramic finds, the stone seal and the most diagnostic motifs of rock art, such as the daggers and the oared ships. The completion of the excavation in the sectors that have been presented above is expected to document this important cultural 'Cycladic' sequence further, on an island which is currently regarded as being outside this insular group (Vlachopoulos forthcoming).

Acknowledgements

Drawings are by Nikos Sepetzoglou. The topographic plan in Figure 24.1 is by Dionysis Niotis.

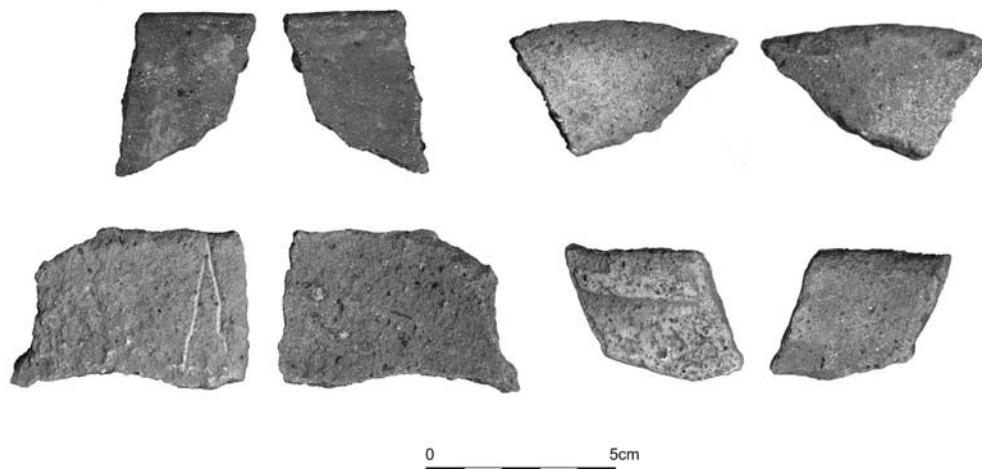


Figure 24.39 Rim fragments of shallow or deep bowls and collared jars.

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EARLY CYCLADIC II AND EARLY BRONZE II FINDS FROM THE DODECANESE: THE CASE OF THE ISLAND OF KOS

Toula Marketou

Rhodes and Nisyros

During the years preceding the Italian occupation of the Dodecanese and before concern for the protection of antiquities by law, two Cycladic figurines, most probably among other lost archaeological treasures, were recovered from unauthorised excavations in the islands of Rhodes and Nisyros. The first, a small EB I–II schematic marble figurine of violin type, was kept in the storerooms of the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes and recorded by the Italians. According to the Italian inventory (no. 2218), this small find appeared to have been purchased by Mr Zitelli, a well-known dealer of antiquities, who was said to be from Kremasti, a village near Asomatos in the wider area of ancient Ialysos (Fig. 25.1,1; see also Fig. 26.1). The final study of this figurine is being undertaken by Athena Hadji (Chapter 26 this volume).

Further obscure evidence for the EB II–III period on the island of Rhodes was also provided by three more artefacts, all of them sent to the National Museum of Copenhagen during the period of the Turkish occupation of the island. This group consists of a white-painted jug assigned to EB II (Fig. 25.1,2), said to be from Kalathos, and two EB III duck-vases, one said to be from Vati in south Rhodes, and the other from Lakki, a location between Kretenia and

Monolithos (Fig. 25.1,3–4; Blinkenberg & Johansen 1924, 30, pl. 36, 1, 2; Dietz 1974). To the above EBA finds may now be added a third EB III duck-vase, found in the storerooms of the Ephorate without any evidence of provenance (Fig. 25.1,5).

Apart from the excavations in the EB II–III settlement at Asomatos (Marketou 1990; 1997; 2010, 776–7), which provided detailed data for the period, the above finds deriving from illicit excavations in several locations on the island are silent witnesses for our deficient, almost lost knowledge about a significant part of the Early Bronze Age on the island of Rhodes.

The second EC II Cycladic figurine, of the Dokathismata variety, is in the Berlin Antiquities Collection (Berliner Antiken-Sammlung). It is said to have come from the island of Nisyros (Kekule 1891, 220 no. 575; Herbst 1936, 770; Bean & Cook 1957, 119; Hope Simpson & Lazenby 1962, 169; Rohde 1974, 152, pl. 9:1; Marketou 2010, 767). To the same period are also assigned three EB II pots (Konstantinopoulos 1965, 602, pl. 768 b–c; Marketou 2009, 232–3) found at Mandraki on Nisyros, without any other details of provenance. Similarly, important Cycladic figurines are also reported from the neighbouring mainland area of ancient Knidos, unfortunately lost (Bent 1888, 82; Getz-Preziozi 1981, 31).



Figure 25.1 Early Bronze Age finds from Rhodes without provenance in the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes (nos 1 and 5) and EB II–III pottery from Rhodes in the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen (nos 2–4). After Blinkenberg & Johansen 1924, 27, pl. 36: 1, 2 and Dietz 1974, figs 1, 2, 3.

The above EB II finds illustrate an unclear picture concerning the earlier stages of the Early Bronze Age on the islands of Rhodes, Nisyros, and in the neighbouring area of western Anatolia. This picture has started to improve in recent years; first in the light of authorised excavations undertaken by the Italians on the island of Kalymnos (Maiuri 1928; Benzi 1997), as well as at the archaeological site of Iasos in ancient Caria, opposite the island of Leros (Pecorella 1984), and more recently after a number of excavations in western Anatolia, which have provided new evidence for the relations of the Cyclades with Anatolia (Şahoğlu 2004; Massa & Şahoğlu 2011; Takaoğlu 2011; Şahoğlu & Tuncel 2014; Tuncel & Şahoğlu this volume).

Kos

However, a better synopsis of the EBA I–II period in the Dodecanese comes from authorised excavations on the island of Kos. A group of four tombs, three jar-burials and an oval cist or tomb, were excavated properly by Luigi Morricone at Asklopis, in the wider area of Asklepieion, in 1943. They gave the first comprehensive picture for this period in the Dodecanese (Morricone 1973, 261–71, figs 210–25; Vitale 2013). Excavation data and documentation of the finds, which are kept in the Museum of Kos, encouraged further research and studies. Pithos burials found in other

locations on the island elucidate the earlier stages of the EBA on the island of Kos, which led to the foundation of the proto-urban settlement of Seraglio (Marketou 2004, 25–7, fig. 6; Marketou 2010, 763). Another pair of jar-burials was also found east-southeast of Asklopis in 1962 (Marketou 2004, 22, fig. 4), while further west-southwest, on the flat hill of Tavla, in Antimacheia (Marketou 2004, 22–3, fig. 5), another pithos burial sheds additional light on the EB II period of the island.

The most important jar-burial was discovered at Mesaria, in the fertile plain north-northwest of Asklopis (Hope Simpson & Lazenby 1970, 38; Marketou 2004), thought to be part of another EB II cemetery. Within this rich jar-burial, a group of characteristic Dodecanesian or Anatolian EB II pottery was found comprising two intact two-handled bottles, two other fragmentary bottles and a beaked jug, as well as fragments of other pots of unknown shape (Figs 25.2, 25.3). Two-handled bottles, a quite unusual form, are known from a tomb in the EBA cemetery of Iasos, in Caria (Pecorella 1984, 52, fig. 4) and two examples at Karataş-Semayük, in Lycia (Mellink 1967, 261, fig. 45). Apart from the pottery, a hoard of metal weapons (a bronze rapier and a dagger), tools (two chisels, an awl and a flat heavy copper axe), a fragmentary silver incised sauceboat, and an Early Cycladic II marble hemispherical bowl accompanied the deceased (Fig. 25.4; Marketou 2004, 20–2, figs 2–3).



Figure 25.2 Messaria pottery and marble bowl.

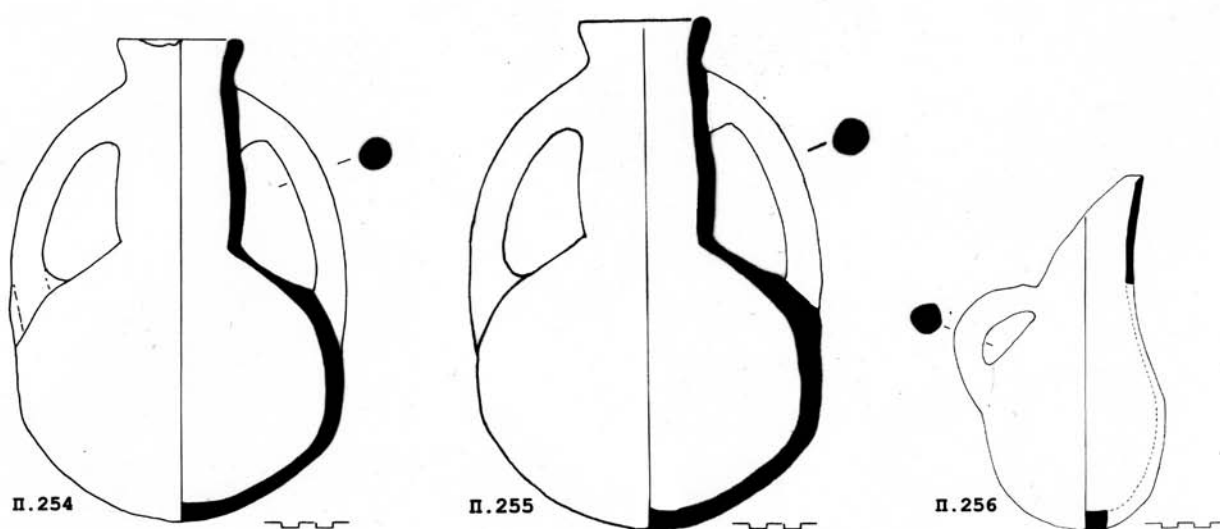


Figure 25.3 Messaria pottery.

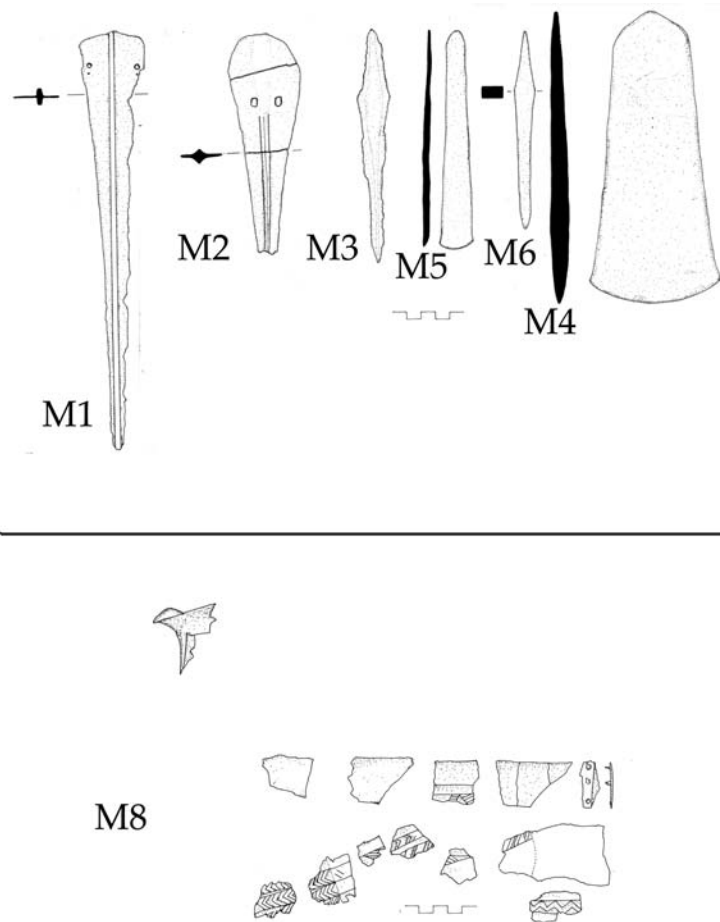


Figure 25.4 Metal finds from Mesaria pithos burial.



Figure 25.5 Marble hemispherical bowl from Mesaria pithos burial.

The context of this burial strongly suggests interconnections with the Cyclades due to the presence of the hoard of metal weapons and tools as well the sauceboat, and especially the presence of the marble hemispherical bowl, which also determined the date of the tomb.

Nearly intact deep conical bowl (Kos Museum inventory no. Δ2) (Figs 25.2 & 25.5)

Height 54 mm; diameter at rim 123 mm, diameter at base 26 mm

Yellowish-white clear marble with brownish veins.

The bowl has a narrow, almost flat base, and a characteristic rim, thickened in the interior, with a groove fairly pronounced (Voutsaki 2007, 287, fig. 8.1). Following the rim type, it is assigned to the most common type, widespread in the Cyclades (Devetzi 1990; Devetzi 1993, 61–9; Getz-Gentle 1996), with best parallels in EC II (for similar bowls and parallels see also Sherratt 2000, 119, pl. 89, fig. 71).

The presence of a Cycladic marble bowl among the other distinctive offerings of this rich burial is undoubtedly of great importance. It could be supposed that it is part of the hoard, which thus defines the marble bowl as a precious object for the deceased. It is remarkable that during this period, which saw the rapid development of metallurgy in the Cyclades, the north Aegean (Renfrew 1972, 308–38), and also on the island of Kos, precious metal objects appear accumulated in burials. This definitely points to the presence of an affluent society interacting with the adjacent mainland of western Anatolia, not only with coastal sites, like

Iasos (Pecorella 1984, 101–106) in Caria, or further north, Bakla Tepe, Liman Tepe and Panaztepe (Şahoğlu 2004; Şahoğlu 2008, 485–6, 491; Massa & Şahoğlu 2011; Tuncel & Şahoğlu this volume), but also other sites in the interior, such as Aphrodisias (jar burials similar to those of Kos, in the Acropolis area and Kuşkalesi: Joukowsky-Sharp 1986a, 119, 157), Pekmez (Joukowsky-Sharp 1986b, 515–21, 568, fig. 571), Yortan and Karataş Semayük (Mellink 1964; Mellink 1967; Stech-Wheeler 1974). Study of the above excavation data has shown that the rapid and outstanding changes of the 3rd millennium BC in the rest of the Aegean also took place on Kos and led to a shift towards the establishment of the nucleated proto-urban centre in the territory of the major LBA settlement at Seraglio (Marketou 2004, 23–6).

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AN EARLY CYCLADIC ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINE FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF RHODES

Athena Hadji

Introduction

In the newly re-curated prehistoric collection of the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes, an unmistakably Cycladic figurine is shown standing (aided by Plexiglas support), amidst finds acquired during the period of the Italian occupation of the Dodecanese (1912–45). The artefact is unprovenanced, as is the case with a plethora of artefacts originating from the Early Bronze Age Cyclades, especially of the (mostly) marble anthropomorphic sculpture category.

Description and catalogue information

Anthropomorphic sculpture (figurine) of the Cycladic type (Fig. 26.1).

Marble.

Height 94 mm; maximum width 35 mm; height of head 11 mm, height of neck 8 mm; width at arms 32 mm, width at waist 19 mm, thickness at waist 5 mm, width at base 28 mm, thickness at base 4 mm.

Archaeological Museum of Rhodes, catalogue no. 2218. There appears a second number on the figurine, E4157, an entry which it was not possible to trace in any of the existing museum catalogues.

The material is fine-grained marble. No microscopic analysis was conducted at this stage, thus no assessment is offered as to the marble provenience. Light erosion appears on surface. A yellow-brownish patina has formed, more pronounced on the lower left-hand side corner. Occasional brown incrustation is also noted on the surface overall. The figurine is virtually intact. Small chip-off points appear on the right side of the base and the left 'arm' stump as well as on the middle lower part of the back side immediately above the base.

Typologically, the figurine belongs to a transitional or hybrid type. More specifically, the head is a transitional rendering between the round type and the lyre type and is treated as an early version of the lyre-shaped head. The head is tilted backwards and flattened at the crown. The face is rounded with no sculpted facial features and no traces or indications of colour, based on macroscopic examination. The chin does not protrude and the head is not differentiated from the neck in a marked way, but continues the head-neck contour in a smooth, uninterrupted transition. The neck is tall. The torso is flat with no indication of breasts. Arms are rendered as slight protrusions. The waist is slender and narrow, hips are accentuated and square with no indication of legs whatsoever, either in-the-round or by engraving. The squared contour continues to the base of the figurine with no tapering of any kind. In the squared hips-legs area no pubic triangle is engraved or otherwise marked. The back is unprocessed in a sculptural way. No anatomical details are provided on the back, such as the spine, except for the slightly tilted head. Again the

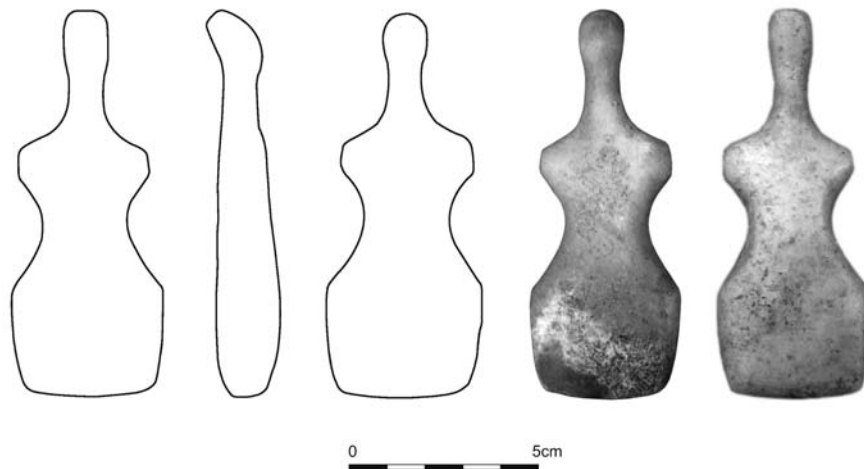


Figure 26.1 EC figurine from Kremasti, Rhodes. Scale 1:2.



Figure 26.2 EC figurine from Kremasti, Rhodes. Not to scale.

crown is flattish. The figurine is not free-standing; however, it can rest on its head lying flat (Fig. 26.2).

Comparanda: Thimme 1976: 242 no. 97, 244 no. 102; head, 271, 171b.

Sotirakopoulou 2005: shouldered, 52–3; Louros, 55.

Sherratt 2000, pls 115–17, 146–8.

Museum context: information provided by catalogue entry and related inferences

The catalogue entry for the figurine in the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes reads: 2218 ‘idoleto femmine in

marmo bianco di tipo preellenico (alt[ezza]. 0.095, larghezza base 0.03) acquisito da Zitelli, dato come proveniente da Cremastò.’ This may be translated in English as: 2218 ‘female figurine of white marble of the preellenic type (h. 0.095, base width 0.03) bought by Zitelli, said to have come from Cremasto [Kremasti]’.

The catalogue is from the Italian administration era, thus entries are in Italian. The village of Kremasti, near Rhodes town on the northwest of the island, was indeed called Cremasto at the time. Unfortunately, there is no date of entry in the museum inventory, but it cannot date before 1916 when the museum was officially inaugurated (Hadji 2014; forthcoming) or after 1940, when the Zitelli family left Rhodes (according to the British Museum

biography: British Museum 2019). Benzi (1989) also notes the inadequate information provided by the Italian catalogue in the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes, mostly lacking acquisition dates. The inventory includes finds with numbers from 1274 to 3039, and the EC figurine is number 2218 in this numerical order. Purchases from Zitelli start with no. 2150 and end with 2691. No date is provided, as stated earlier. Unfortunately, no *terminus ante* or *post quem* can be established for the purchase of the Kremasti figurine by the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes, since the numerical order does not correspond to a chronological order.

The whereabouts of the Zitelli family and Zitelli's transactions with the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes currently form part of an on-going project. Still, I deem it of great importance to publish the Rhodes figurine. The fact that its type is rare and statistically largely undocumented only adds to the importance of its publication. However, I acknowledge that the study cannot be considered complete until all possible avenues with regard to the figurine's provenance – which might lead to clues as to its provenience – have been explored. This will be explained sufficiently in a forthcoming publication.

It is Amedeo Maiuri's handwriting throughout this catalogue, and, based on my archival research at the Italian Archive, part of the General Archives of the Greek State, it is evident that Zitelli only sold to Maiuri in Rhodes. Maiuri left Rhodes in 1924, so the date range is rather generous.

Chronology and comparanda

The rendering of the figurine follows the logic, rules and proportions of the violin-shaped type, but the neck and the head echo EC II (or Keros-Syros) developments in Cycladic marble anthropomorphic sculpture. More specifically the upper half, *i.e.* head, neck and torso, of the figurine belong to the Louros type of early EC II sculpture. The head carries all the distinctive features of the Louros type (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 55): it is clearly distinguished from the long neck; it is tilted back; it is crowned by a conical cap. The arms also follow the Louros type: they are rendered as almost triangular projections at shoulder level. However, the rest of the body is far from Louros, where the legs are more or less defined as separate entities and a pubic triangle is engraved. The figurine thus is a rare transitional hybrid type dating between EC I – EC II.

Following Sotirakopoulou, hybrid figurines 'are intermediate or transitional pieces that combine the characteristics of both schematic and early naturalistic types. [...] Consequently they are dated to the transitional period between the EC I and EC II' (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 63). Thimme places such figurines firmly in EC I and labels them

'hybride Idole' (Thimme 1976, 443). Getz-Preziosi calls the figurines in this category 'hybrid', and, like Sotirakopoulou, places them between EC I – EC II (Getz-Preziosi 1981, figs 21, 22; Louros head: EC I-II, Kampos-Louros culture; c. 2800–2700 BC). I agree with a placement between EC I–EC II.

Alleged uses and derivations of EC figurines, and also their symbolism, are beyond the scope of the present publication. Rohde (1974, 155–6) differentiates between Plastiras and the Keros-Syros types and alleges 'magical' uses for the latter, discussing, among other things, the symbolic use of red (blood, fire) and blue (sea, sky) colours painted on some figurines as well as the possibility that some were wearing a hat ('polos' in analogy to later depictions of goddess figurines in Greek prehistoric and later art). Renfrew (1969, 24) examines the colour red as an allusion to blood (for a brief discussion on colour applied on EC figurines see also Sotirakopoulou 2005). For more recent suggestions regarding interpretation, see Hendrix (2003) on eyes, Hoffman (2002) on paint and the idea of mourning women, and Hadji (2016) on performative aspects and the neurobiological impact of making and breaking the figurines.

The terminology employed for the chronology of Cycladic archaeology during the Early Bronze Age, roughly the 3rd millennium BC, has been discussed, debated and presented adequately elsewhere (Hadji 2004; Hadji 2016 with references). The Rhodes figurine under discussion here fits nicely between Sotirakopoulou's 'shouldered' and 'hybrid' types, dated respectively to 2800 and 2700 BC.

A hypothetical archaeological context in the frame of the Early Bronze Age southern Aegean islands

The inter-relations between the Cyclades, the Dodecanese and western Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age have been firmly established and are now well-documented (Marketou 2010a; 2010b; Kouka 2013). The 'international spirit' of EB II (Renfrew 1972) is manifested, among others, in a plethora of EC finds outside the Cycladic islands, in places nearby, such as Euboea (Sapouna-Sakellarakis this volume; Sampson & Hadji this volume; Kosma this volume) and Attica (Kouka 2008, and many of the papers in this volume), and far away, such as Crete (Karantzali 1996; Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2017), the eastern Aegean and western Anatolia (Takaoğlu 2011; Marketou this volume; Philaniotou this volume; Kouka this volume; Tuncel & Şahoğlu this volume). Specific to the southern Aegean islands, a context for Cycladic affinities is provided by finds such as an EC II bowl from Kos (Marketou 1990; 2004; 2010; this volume); a canonical Dokathismata type figurine from Nisyros, now

in Berlin (Herbst 1936; Stampolidis *et al.* 2011; Marketou 2009b; Rohde 1974); and a limestone figure from Karpathos in the British Museum, gift of Theodore Bent (Bent 1885, 235; Fitton 1989, fig. 8). Meanwhile, Cycladic presence in Anatolia is evident by a marble rim bowl and sauceboats at Liman Tepe (Kouka 2013, 569–71); a Dokathismata figurine from Miletos (Niemeier 2007; Kouka this volume); EC I-Grotta Pelos finds from the Iasos cemetery (Takaoglu 2011); and last but not least, there is mention of another figurine from Cape Krio, Datça (Bent 1888, 82; Renfrew *et al.* this volume).

Cycladic presence on Rhodes in the Early Bronze Age

If the Kremasti figurine indeed originated on Rhodes, and at present there is no reason to doubt this, either the Early Bronze Age starts earlier on Rhodes than hitherto believed, although admittedly there is no archaeological evidence from the island thus far to substantiate this claim (Marketou 2010b), or it must have been an heirloom (cf. Dumas 1977: Akrotiri cemetery, Naxos). It is not unprecedented for two different types of figurines (schematic, folded arm) to be found together in a late EC I grave (Hekman 2003, 141; cf. Tsountas 1899, 106). What makes the chronological and contextual placement of the Rhodes figurine even more difficult is the fact that ‘only a few of the thirty-three known hybrid figurines have a known or alleged provenance’ (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 63). Nevertheless, this seems to have been a rather widespread type, since one is ‘reported’ [sic] from Aghios Kosmas in Attica and another one from Crete (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 63), and now we may add this third example from Rhodes. During later phases of the EBA, contacts with the Cyclades are confirmed by, for example, two duck vases excavated in the early 20th century by the Danish mission in Rhodes and exhibited in the same case with the Kremasti figurine in the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes (Dietz 1974; Marketou 2010b; this volume).

Conclusions

Through the publication of the Kremasti figurine a rare type becomes available for comparative study, theoretical approaches and interpretative endeavours, having already been placed in its broader context in Aegean prehistoric archaeology and the history of Cycladic art; moreover, the monetary value laid upon EC anthropomorphic sculpture, as is well-known, has led to illicit excavations

with devastating results for archaeological research, but also to the widespread manufacture and trade of forgeries. Through the scientific study and publication of EC figures and figurines, we expand our knowledge of them and we assist in the process of their objective evaluation in the context of their time, culture and art, working thus, I hope, in a manner discouraging their exclusive appreciation as objects for acquisition. Also, the time is ripe for the publication of an EC figurine from the beginning of the past century, given the data emerging from new research in the Cyclades (for instance, from Keros, and Skarkos on Ios, among others: Marthari *et al.* 2017) and beyond in the present century (this volume; Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2017). This evidence, combined, can facilitate a new assessment of the role and function of the EC figures and figurines in the context of Aegean prehistory.

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LOCAL AND IMPORTED IN ACTION: WESTERN ANATOLIAN AND CYCLADIC FIGURINES AT EARLY BRONZE AGE MILETUS

Ourania Kouka

For Barbara and Wolf Niemeier

Introduction

The production of stone figurines in Western Asia Minor goes back to the Chalcolithic (Ch) period, as finds from various sites and in particular from the marble workshop at Kulaksızlar in the Izmir Region indicate (Takaoğlu 2005). In this workshop schematic figurines of Kilia type were produced alongside marble conical beakers similar to those known from Final Neolithic sites such as Kephala on Keos (Takaoğlu 2011, 161–2, 282–5, cat. nos 174–86). During the Early Bronze Age three main types of stone or marble, flat-sculpted figurines were produced (Takaoğlu 2011, 160, 286–8 cat. nos 191–204), continuing the tradition of schematic figurines of the Anatolian Ch. These occur in both settlement and funeral contexts of coastal and inland western Anatolia. The forms are: 1) the eight-shaped (Troy type) with a distinctive division of the head from the body (*e.g.* Troy I–II, Liman Tepe VI, Bakla Tepe, Heraion IV–V, Miletus: Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27–8, fig. 127 Type 1–3; Takaoğlu 2011, 160, 288, cat. nos 199–204); 2) the Kusura type with a discoid head, a long neck and a short, almost rectangular body (*e.g.* Kusura B: Kaklik Mevkii; Takaoğlu 2011, 160, 287, cat. no. 197; Efe & Türkteki 2011, 230, 313, cat. no. 304); and

3) the violin-shaped (Beycesultan type) with a long head, small triangular arms and rounded body (*e.g.* Beycesultan: Takaoğlu 2011, 160, 287, cat. no. 198; Efe & Türkteki 2011, 230, 314, cat. no. 309; see also Tuncel & Şahoğlu in this volume).

Despite the intensive contacts between western Anatolia and the Cyclades since the seventh millennium BC, as indicated by the high percentages of Melian obsidian at coastal sites and at sites located along the Maeander River (Kouka 2014, 56–8, fig. 1), and in spite of the long-range trade network between western Anatolian and Cycladic peoples during EB I–III (metals, jewellery, marble vessels, pottery types; Renfrew 1972, 451–5, fig. 20.5; Broodbank 2000, 279–83, fig. 90; Kouka 2002, 299–302; Kouka 2008, 315–19), there is so far extremely limited evidence for the occurrence of Early Cycladic (EC) marble figurines in western Anatolia. Theodore Bent writes in 1888:

we found traces of other tombs which have largely been exposed to view by the washing away of the soil by a winter's flood. In these tombs have been found many small marble figurines similar to those I found at Antiparos and described in this Journal (p. 50). One represents a figure seated in a chair playing a harp similar to that at the Museum of Athens, which was found at Amorgos, another is of a female

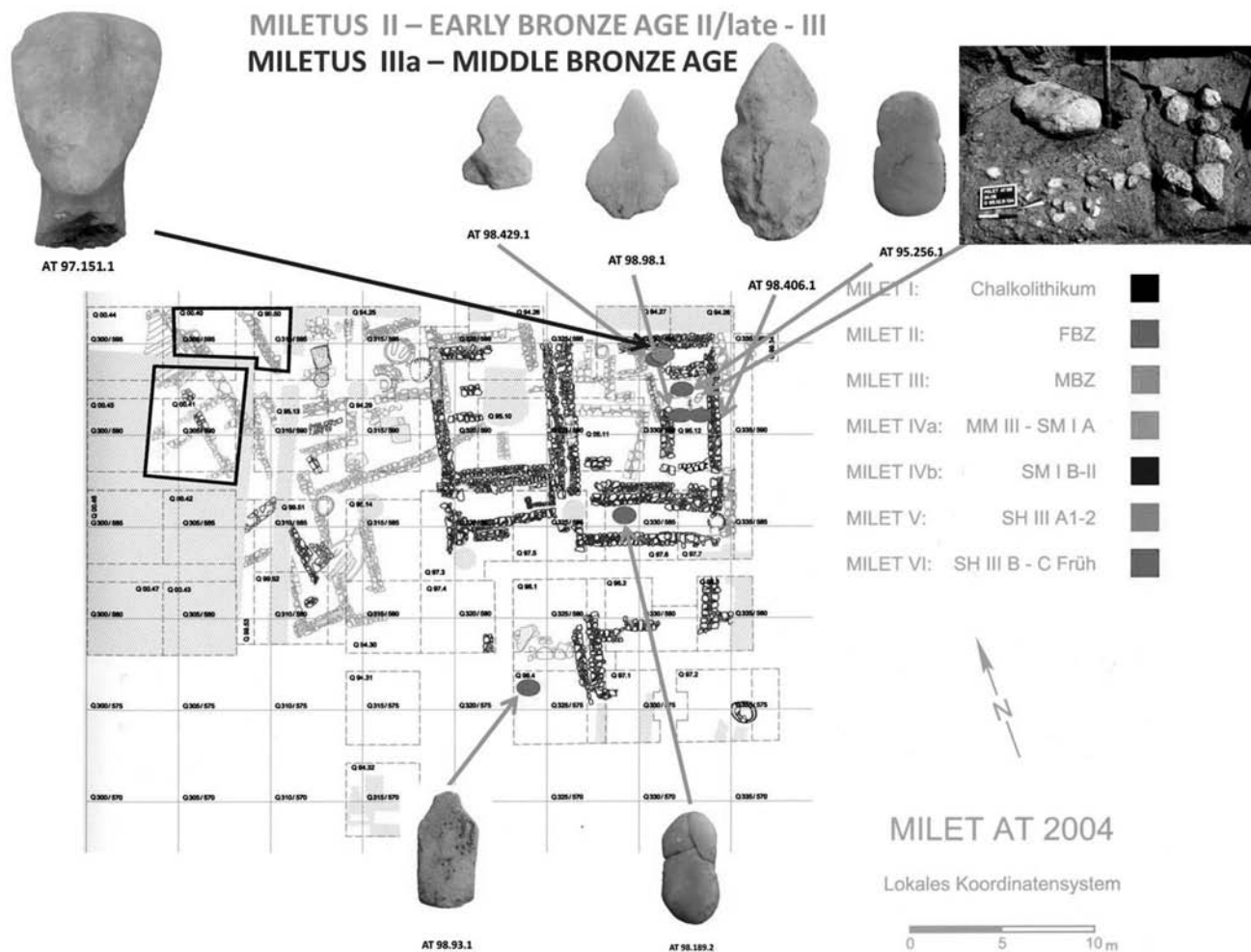


Figure 27.1 Miletus. Settlement plan showing the distribution of local figurines and the EC II figurine of Dokathismata variety.

figure with a crescent on her head similar to one which I have seen, and which was discovered in the island of Tenos (Bent 1888, 82).

The figurines mentioned by Bent have not been located in any of the museums of western Anatolia.

One century later, in 1997, the head of an EC II (early: Keros-Syros culture) marble figurine (AT 97.151.1) of a canonical type belonging to the Dokathismata variety (Renfrew 1969, 16–17.IV.B) was found by Barbara and Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier in their systematic excavations in the area of the Athena Temple of Miletus (Figs 27.1, 27.2; Niemeier 2000, 128–9, fig. 5; Niemeier 2005, 2, col. pl. 3). This EC figurine, so far unique in western Anatolia, will be presented in the catalogue and will be discussed below in its Milesian context.

Miletus, Temple of Athena – periodisation and context

Miletus is located on the western Anatolian littoral, at the delta of the Maeander River and opposite Samos. Excavations in the area of the Temple of Athena, directed by B. and W.-D. Niemeier (1994–2004), brought to light six successive architectural levels dating from the Ch through to the Late Bronze Age (Miletus I–VI, Fig. 27.1: Niemeier & Niemeier 1997; Niemeier 2000; Niemeier 2005, fig. 1; Niemeier 2007a, fig. 1; Niemeier 2007b; Kouka 2013, 574–5; Kouka 2014, 53–6). Due to the high water table excavation was possible only by using the Well-Point-System for pumping the ground water out of the trenches (Niemeier 2000, 1, fig. 1). As a result, the earliest habitation levels, namely the Ch (Miletus I) and the Early Bronze Age (Miletus II), in this part of Miletus could be

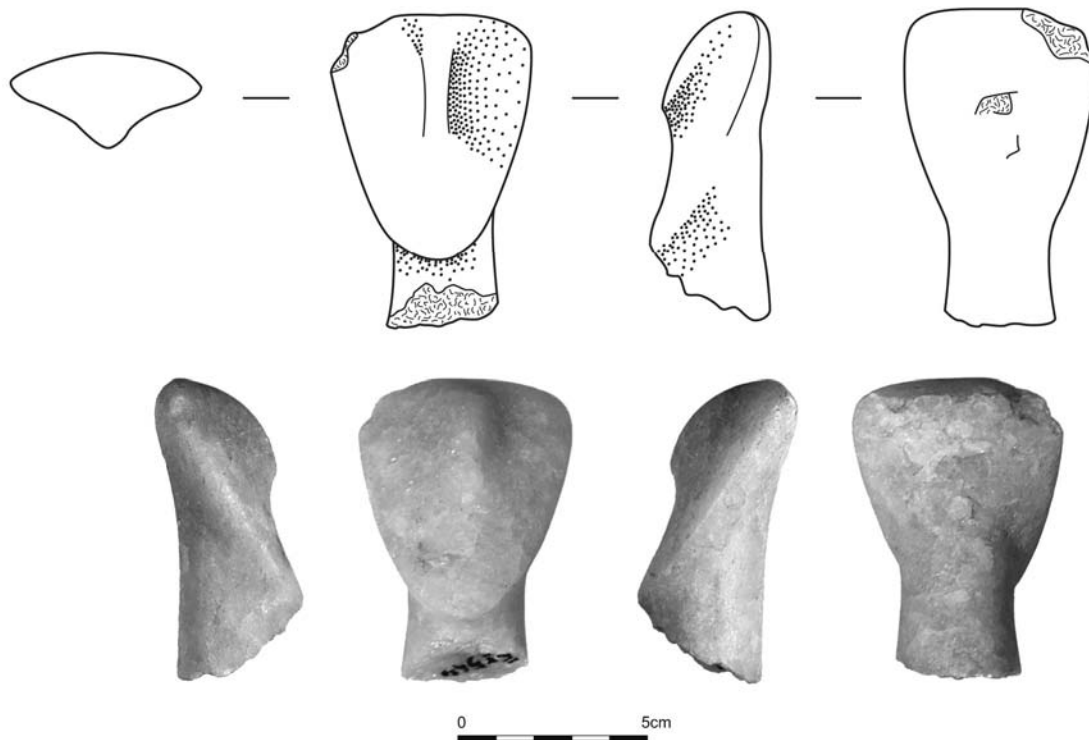


Figure 27.2 Miletus IIIa. Head and neck of the EC II figurine of Dokathismata variety. Scale 1:2.

Table 27.1 Fine chronology of the Ch and EB phases at Miletus.

Settlement Phase	Cultural Phase	Absolute dating
Miletus Ia	Middle Ch (late)	4500–4000 BC
Hiatus ?	Late Ch (early)	4000–3500 BC
Miletus Ib	Late Ch (late)	3500–3000 BC
Miletus IIa	EB I (initial)	3000–2900 BC
Miletus IIb (hiatus at Athena temple)	EB I (later part) – EB II (early)	2900–2500 BC
Miletus IIc	EB II (late)	2500–2200 BC
Miletus IId	EB III	2200–2000 BC

identified. The detailed study of the pottery from Miletus I and II by the author led to the distinction of the following sub-phases as presented in Table 27.1:

It should be noted that the Anatolian MCh and LCh correspond with the Aegean FN and date between 4500 and 3200/3000 BC (for definition of late MCh and LCh cf. Blum 2014, 132–7, fig. 3). The EBA in western Anatolia dates, according to recent excavations, between 3000–2000 BC (Şahoğlu 2011; for a relative chronology in the Aegean and western Anatolia see Kouka 2013, fig. 1).

Palaeogeographical investigations undertaken by Helmut Brückner, from the Department of Geography of the University of Marburg, in the area of the Temple of Athena showed that during the LCh (3500–3000 BC)

the site was not covered by the sea and was therefore suitable for settlement activities (Brückner *et al.* 2006, 70–1 figs 1–3, tables 1–2). Between 3000/2900 and 2500 BC the area of the Ch and the initial EB I settlement was flooded by the sea and people had to move during the EB I (later part) – EB II (early) to safer ground, probably on the main coast, which was some 300–400 m away from the islet. The islet of the Athena Temple was resettled at around 2500–2000 BC, when, during the EB II (late) and the EB III, this part turned again into an islet as a part of the archipelago-like coastal landscape of the Maeander Delta (for the topography of Miletus, see Niemeier 2007a, fig. 1).

Miletus I, where a stone-built circular storage structure (Niemeier 2000, 125, fig. 2; Niemeier 2005, 2, figs 1–2), postholes cut into the bedrock and two terrace walls have been found (Fig. 27.1), was, as indicated by the pottery production, a typical western Anatolian site (Kouka 2014, 53–6, fig. 2C, 5–6) and an important distributor of Melian obsidian along the Maeander Valley (Niemeier 2000, 125–7; Niemeier 2005, 2; Kouka 2014, 56–7, fig. 1), a fact that led Niemeier to the designation of Miletus as a ‘gateway community’ (Niemeier 2007b, 41). Stray finds indicate that the Ch habitation extended beyond the islet of the Athena Temple, in the areas of Delphinion, under Heroon III and west of the Bouleuterion (Voigtländer 1982; Parzinger 1989; Niemeier 2000, 125; Niemeier 2007a, fig. 1).



Figure 27.3 Miletus IIc–d. Local figurines of the EB II (late)–III. Left to right: AT 98.189.2; AT 95.256.1; AT 98.93.1; AT 98.429.1; AT 98.406.1; AT 98.98.1. Scale 1:2.

Habitation continued in the initial EB I over the same area as indicated by ceramic finds, such as bowls with flattened rims and incised linear decoration, and bowls with horizontal lugs, or with double pierced tubular lugs, or with lug-handles. In Miletus IIb and therefore in the period in which the EC II figurine was produced and probably also reached Milesian lands (c. 2750–2500 BC) the settlement of Miletus was located beyond the islet of the Temple of Athena, as mentioned above.

The re-habitation of the area of the Athena Temple in EB II (late) and EB III has been testified through architecture of Miletus IIc–IIId in Trench Q 95.12, which, so far excavated, includes only the stone foundation of a bipartite long-room and rectangular building oriented northeast–southwest (Niemeier 2000, 127, fig. 4; Niemeier 2005, fig. 1; Niemeier 2007a, 7–8, pls 1.3–4). The pottery distribution in the deepest levels of the entire southern sector of the excavated area, above the Ch levels, indicates its use over the later phases of the EBA (Fig. 27.1).

To the east of the rectangular building, which was an open space, a large red volcanic millstone (600 mm × 400 mm) was found placed upside down along with tankards and shallow bowls of the EB II (late) – EB III phases. Scattered around the millstone were four schematic figurines of Anatolian type (Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27–8, fig. 127), typical for these periods, as well as bones of cattle and sheep or goat and sea shells found within ash (Niemeier & Niemeier 1997, 241, fig. 82;

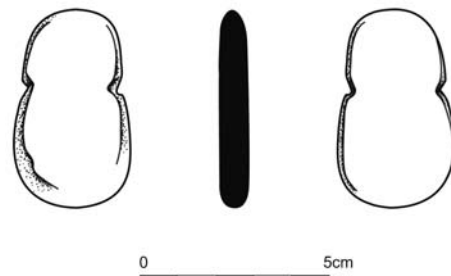


Figure 27.4 Miletus II. Eight-shaped figurine (AT 95.256.1). Scale 1:2.

Niemeier 2000, 127, fig. 127; 2007a, 7), though ‘some of them [were] displaced by Middle Bronze Age levelling activities’ (Niemeier 2005, 2), leading Niemeier to interpret this context as an offering place (Niemeier 2000, 127, figs 4–5; Niemeier 2005, 2; Figs 27.1, 27.10). Three of the figurines are flat with triangular heads and ovoid bodies (Figs 27.3, 27.6–27.8: AT 98.98.1, AT 98.406.1, AT 98.429.1; cf. Blegen *et al.* 1950, fig. 127 Type 2G–H) and one has an eight-form shape (Figs 27.3, 27.4: AT 95.256.1; cf. Blegen *et al.* 1950, fig. 127 Type 2B/2D). Both types are well known from synchronous contexts in coastal and inland western Anatolia, *e.g.* at Troy II (late)–IV, Seyitömer, Liman Tepe, Bakla Tepe, Aphrodisias, Heraion, Karataş-Semayük and Seyitömer Höyük, as well as in contemporary sites in the Cyclades (Akrotiri) and Crete (Zakros; for citations see catalogue below). Two more figurines, one eight-shaped (Fig. 27.5 : AT

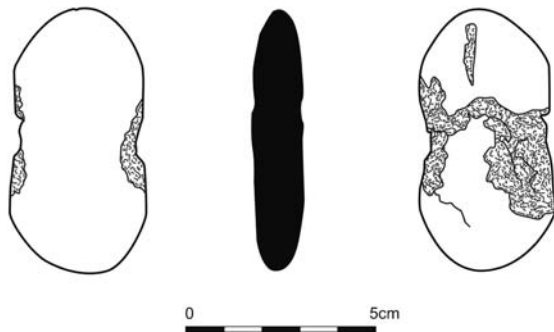


Figure 27.5 Miletus II. Eight-shaped figurine (AT 98.189.2). Scale 1:2.

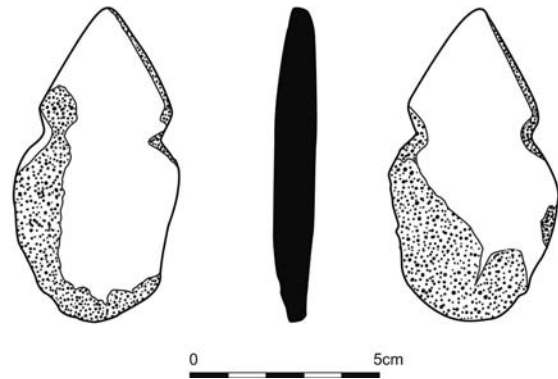


Figure 27.8 Miletus. Schematic figurine with triangular head and ovoid body (AT 98.406.1). Scale 1:2.

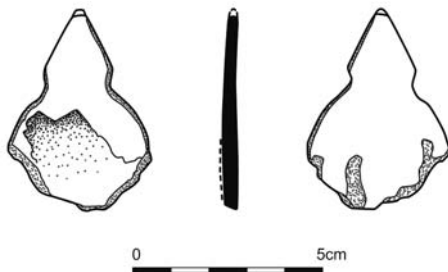


Figure 27.6 Miletus II. Schematic figurine with triangular head and ovoid body (AT 98.98.1). Scale 1:2.

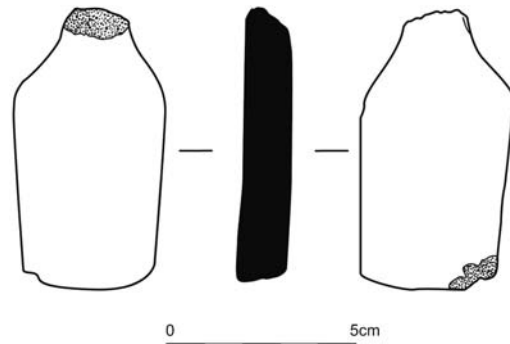


Figure 27.9 Miletus II. Schematic figurine with plank-shaped rectangular body (AT 98.93.1). Scale 1:2.

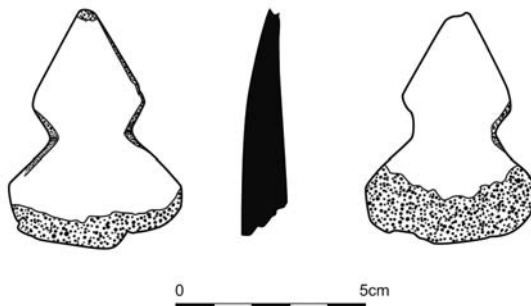


Figure 27.7 Miletus II. Schematic figurine with triangular head and ovoid body (AT 98.429.1). Scale 1:2.

98.189.2; cf. Blegen *et al.* 1950, fig. 127 Type 2B-C) and one plank-shaped with a rectangular lower part (Fig. 27.9: AT 98.93.1; cf. Blegen *et al.* 1950, fig. 127 Type 3B-C) were found further to the south of the aforementioned concentration of figurines. Only limited quantities of pottery were related with the context of the local figurines. Figurine AT 98.98.1 is associated with fragmented EC III red-brown burnished askoi with incised decoration (e.g. AT 98.98.4: Niemeier 2005, fig. 3 upper left), while ceramic finds from trench Q 95.12 include rims of red medium to highly burnished shallow bowls, reddish-brown *depas* cups and tankards of EB II (late), as well as a red-orange highly burnished hybrid *depas* of EB III (Kouka 2013, 574–5, fig. 4) and further EC III askoi with incised decoration (Niemeier 2000, 128–9, fig. 9; Niemeier 2005, 2–3, fig. 3; Niemeier 2007b, 8, pl. 1.5). These are shapes



Figure 27.10 Miletus II. Millstone from the open space.

associated with drinking by feasting activities, as attested in special settlement and funeral contexts of the Anatolian EB II (late) – EB III periods (Kouka 2011, 47–9 with further bibliography), and seen for example at Liman Tepe IV (EB IIIB). In the latter case remnants of such activities have been attested in a communal space located in the centre of the fortified peninsula, equipped with numerous pits full of ash, animal bones, marine shells, burnt cereals and similar pottery. Of importance is the occurrence in each

Table 27.2 Local and imported figurines from Miletus Ilc–d and Illa.

Miletus Inv. No.	Miletus Museum Inv. No.	Type	Variety	Material	Preserved Part	Stratigraphical Context	Dating	Reference
AT 97.151.1	E 3549	Canonical	Dokathismata	Fine-grained marble	Head and neck	Q 94.27 R Miletus Illa – (MBA)	EC II early	von Graeve 1999, 586, fig.1.1; Niemeier 2000, 128–9, fig. 5; 2005, 2, col. pl. 3; Niemeier 2007b, 8, pl. 1.3; Şahoğlu & Sotiropoulou 2011, 288 no. 205
AT 95.256.1	E 3158	Schematic	Eight-shaped Troy 2B/2D	Fine-grained marble	Complete	Q 95.11 Miletus Ilc–d	EB II (late) – EB III	Niemeier 1997, 532, fig. 6; Niemeier & Niemeier 1997, 160, 241, fig. 82
AT 98.93.1	E 3904	Schematic	Rectangular body Troy 3B–C	Limestone	Body and neck	Q 96.4 Miletus Ilc–d	EB II (late) – EB III	Niemeier 2005, 2; Niemeier 2007a, 7
AT 98.98.1	–	Schematic	Triangular head with ovoid body Troy 2G	Coarse-grained marble with vertical veins	Head and part of the body	Q 95.12 Miletus Ilc–d	EB III	Niemeier 2005, 2; Niemeier 2007a, 7
AT 98.189.2	E 3908	Schematic	Eight-shaped Troy 2B–C	Coarse-grained marble	Complete	Q 96.6 R Miletus Ilc–d	EB III	Niemeier 2005, 2; Niemeier 2007a, 7
AT 98.406.1	E 3903	Schematic	Triangular head with ovoid body Troy 2G–H	Limestone	Complete	Q 95.12 R Miletus Ilc–d	EB III	Niemeier 2000, 127, fig. 4
AT 98.429.1	E 3905	Schematic	Triangular head with ovoid body Troy 2G–H	Coarse-grained marble	Head and part of the body	Q 94.27 U Miletus Ilc–d	EB III	Niemeier 2005, 2; Niemeier 2007a, 7

pit of one or two tortoise shells (symbols of fertility) that most probably associate these feasting activities with life and fertility (Erkanal *et al.* 2009, 305–07, fig. 8; Kouka 2011, 48; Kouka 2013, 573–4).

In this open and therefore communal space of Miletus IIC–d (Trench Q 95.12), the head with neck of a Dokathismata figurine was found (AT 97.151.1, Keros-Syros phase), though in a slightly higher level than that of the millstone and the figurines of local tradition (Figs 27.1, 27.2). This area was subsequently levelled in the Middle Bronze Age phase of Miletus IIIa (Raymond 2005, 46–7, fig. 2.5 plan, 2.6 section of Q 95.12), and was partially laid with rounded limestones in order to retain its communal function. The head was in fact lying face-down (depth 0.39 m) among the rounded stones of this pavement-like arrangement of Miletus IIIa (Fig. 27.1), which was located beneath a Late Minoan IB (LM) destruction horizon of Miletus IVb (Raymond 2005, fig. 2.6). Very close and to the east of the head a blade of Melian obsidian was also found. The pottery of the MBA phase of Miletus IIIa found in this part of the MBA settlement (Trench Q 95.12) included typical Anatolian MBA pottery (*e.g.* red slip rolled or bead rim or ledge rim bowls, jugs and everted rim jars, carinated and semi-globular cups: Raymond 2009, 152–3), domestic pottery of Middle Minoan (MM) inspiration (handleless cups, cooking pots, scuttles: Niemeier 2005, 3, fig. 4, 5) and fragments of MM IB – MM II cup of Kamares ware (Deposit 5; Raymond 2001, 20–2, fig. 1, 3; Raymond 2005, 87, fig. 3.37; cf. Niemeier 2005, col. pl. 4; Raymond 2009, 151–3, fig. 6, 8; Kaiser & Raymond 2015, 148, fig. 6).

The EC figurine of Miletus is the only Cycladic figurine found to date in a systematic excavation which had been imported to western Asia Minor. The concentration in this specific communal area of four local figurines and an EC II example is remarkable; the latter, although found in a level of the initial MBA, is definitely much earlier than the local figurines found in the level just below it! This occurrence does not exclude that either the head or the entire EC II figurine have been previously used along with the local Anatolian figurines.

The figurines – catalogue

We have seen that in Miletus IIC–d (2500–2000 BC) six local figurines and in Miletus IIIa (2000–1750 BC) one imported EC II (early) figurine have been discovered (initially studied by Amy Raymond: Niemeier 2005, 2, note 40). These are listed in Table 27.2 and described further below in the catalogue.

AT 97.151.1 *Canonical, folded-arm figurine, Dokathismata variety* (Fig. 27.2).

E 3549, Archaeological Museum of Miletus.

Miletus, Athena Temple. Trench Q 94.27 R. Miletus IIIa (MBA). EC II early (Keros-Syros culture).

Height 40 mm; width 14 mm (neck), 26 mm (head); thickness 12–20 mm.

Fine-grained white, homogenous, well-crystalised, possibly Naxian (?) marble with high translucency. Well, but not highly polished. Preserved are the head and a part of the neck. The edge at the top right of head is missing. The triangular head is thin and flat in profile, with straight cheeks and a rounded, slightly protruding chin. The face is dominated by a smooth elaborated nose, set quite high on it and not in the middle axis of the face, giving the impression of turning to the left. The head is slightly tilted backward. The head and the neck are not clearly distinguished at the back.

Reference: von Graeve 1999, 586, fig. 11; Niemeier 2000, 128–9, fig. 5; 2005, 2, col. pl. 3; Niemeier 2007b, 8, pl. 1.3; Sotirakopoulou & Şahoğlu 2011, 288 no. 205.

Cf. Tsountas 1898, pl. 10, 1 (Dokathismata, Amorgos, tomb 14); Dumas 2000, 163 no. 233 (unknown provenance); Sotirakopoulou 2005, 236 no. 263 (Keros Hoard); Renfrew 2007, 265 figs 7.1–7.2 no. 464 (Keros, Dhaskalio Kavos); Kosma (this volume), MK1251, MK3033 (Nea Styra, Euboea); Kostanti & Christopoulou (this volume), EAM8973 (Aghios Kosmas); Papazoglou-Manioudaki (2017), EAM6174 (Syros); Sotirakopoulou & Gavalas (2017, no. 284: Tekes, Herakleion); Tsipopoulou & Simantiraki-Grimshaw (2017), no. 13532 (Petras, Siteia).

AT 95.256.1 *Schematic figurine of eight-shaped type* (Figs 27.3, 27.4).

E 3158, Archaeological Museum of Miletus.

Miletus, Athena Temple. Trench Q 95.11.

Miletus IIC–d (EB II late – EB III).

Height 52 mm; width 24–30 mm; thickness 7–9 mm.

Shape comparable with Troy 2B/2D (Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27, fig. 127). Fine-grained white marble pebble with some grey oblique veins, non-translucent. Very well, but not highly polished. Entirely preserved. A few old and new scratches on both sides. Two symmetrical sharp notches above the middle height indicate the head and the body. Both views are flat. Both lines of its profile sharply shaped.

Reference: Niemeier 1997, 532, fig. 6; Niemeier & Niemeier 1997, 241, fig. 82.

Cf. Schmidt 1902, 279 no. 7436 (EB II–III); Easton 2002, fig. 155 no. 72–1052 (EB II–III); Milošević 1961, 55, pl. 34.4, 49.29 (EB III); Joukowsky 1996, 213 fig. 230 (EB IIIA–B); Warner 1994, 84, 214 KA 461, pl. 197a (Karataş V.2, EB II); Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 288 no. 199 (Bakla Tepe EB II late – IIIA), 341 no. 447 (Seyitömer, EB III).

AT 98.93.1 *Schematic figurine, plank-shaped* (Figs 27.3, 27.9).

E 3904, Archaeological Museum of Miletus.

Miletus, Athena Temple. Trench Q 96.4.

Miletus IIC–d (EB II late – EB III).

Height 55 mm; width 29 mm; thickness 10 mm.

Plank-shaped rectangular body with shoulders of type Troy 3B–C (Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27–8, fig. 127).

Limestone, whitish with irregular grey and brown veins. Polishing not preserved due to erosion. Body and part of the neck preserved,

one edge of the lower part of the body is missing. Dark residues at the frontal view and scratches and notches along the sides of the body. Both the frontal and the side views are flat. The narrow and straight neck stands on two asymmetrical oblique shoulders. The trapezoidal body is narrower at its bottom and gives the figurine a spade-like form.

Cf. Schliemann 1881, 336 no. 221 (Troy IIg); Blegen *et al.* 1950, fig. 216 no. 33-324 (Troy I), fig. 360 nos 37-628, 37-258 (Troy II); Blegen *et al.* 1951, fig. 48 no. 33-436 (Troy III); Easton 2002, figs 134 no. 72-189a, 186 no. At. 166-3236 (Troy II-III); Bernabò-Brea 1976, 32-3, tav. CCLV. 1-2 (Poliochni giallo: EB II late); Warner 1994, 90, 214 KA 623, pl. 197b (Karataş V.3, EB II late); Bilgen 2015, 112 fig. 129 right (Seyitömer Höyük, EB III); Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 342 no. 458 (Seyitömer Level Va, MBA).

AT 98.98.1 Schematic figurine with triangular head and ovoid body (Figs 27.3, 27.6).

Archaeological Museum of Miletus.

Miletus, Athena Temple. Trench Q 95.12.

Miletus IId (EB III).

Height 52 mm; width 38 mm; thickness 5-18 mm (2 mm at the head, 4 mm at the lower body).

Comparable with types of Troy 2G-H (Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27, fig. 127).

Coarse-grained micaceous marble with vertical veins, homogenous, well-crystallised, not translucent. Horizontal and oblique traces of polishing are visible. Head and part of the body are preserved. The top of the head and the lower part of the body are missing. Old scratches and notches on both sides and some black residues on the back. The top of the head and the lower part of the body are missing. Head and body are distinguished with sharp notches. Shoulders are smoothly elaborated and not distinguished from the body. Head and upper part of the preserved body are flat on both views. The lower part is slightly concave on both views. Both profiles have been worked quite sharp. To the same context belongs a fragment of an EC III askos with incised decoration (AT 98.98.4).

Cf. Blegen *et al.* 1951, fig. 147 nos 37-184, 37-158 (Troy IV); Lloyd & Mellaart 1962, 266, F1. 21 (Beycesultan XIII: Troy IIg).

AT 98.189.2 Schematic figurine of eight-shaped type (Figs 27.3, 27.5).

E 3908, Archaeological Museum of Miletus.

Miletus, Athena Temple. Trench Q 96.6 R.

Miletus IIc-d (EB II late – EB III). Dating: EB III

Height 68 mm; width 35 mm; thickness 14 mm.

Shape: Troy 2B-C (Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27, fig. 127).

Coarse-grained white marble pebble with some grey irregular veins, non-translucent. Polishing not preserved due to erosion. Reconstructed from three pieces, giving the entire form. Many old notches and surface damage, in particular at the back. Two symmetrical smooth notches in the middle indicate the head and the body. Both sides are slightly convex.

Cf. Blegen *et al.* 1951, fig. 147 no. 36-265 (Troy IV); Easton 2002, fig. 167 no. 72-1973 (EB II-III); Lamb 1936, 23, pl. XXIV. 3183 (Thermi I-EB I); Joukowsky 1996, 212-13 fig. 225, 228 (MBA); Sotirakopoulou 1988, 118-19, fig. 5 no. 1962 (Akrotiri, Thera,

Cenotaph Square, EC III); Platon & Kyritsi 2017, HM488 (Zakros, Crete).

AT 98.406.1 Schematic figurine (Figs 27.3, 27.8).

E 3903, Archaeological Museum of Miletus.

Miletus, Athena Temple. Trench Q 95.12 R.

Miletus IIc-d (EB II late – EB III). Dating: EB III

Height 81 mm; width 45 mm; thickness 11 mm.

Triangular head and ovoid body, comparable with types of Troy 2G-H (Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27, fig. 127).

Limestone, whitish with irregular brown veins. Polishing not preserved due to erosion. Head and almost the entire body are preserved. Parts of the outline of the body at its sides and on both views are missing. Head and body are distinguished with sharp notches. Shoulders are smoothly elaborated and are not distinguished from the body. Frontal slightly concave, back flat. Both profiles have been worked quite sharp.

Reference: Niemeier 2000, 127, fig. 4.

Cf. Blegen *et al.* 1951, fig. 147 nos 37-184, 37-158 (Troy IV); Easton 2002, fig. 159 no. 72-1845 (EB II-III); Joukowsky 1996, 213 fig. 232 (MBA); Lloyd & Mellaart 1962, 266, F1. 21 (Beycesultan XIII).

AT 98.429.1 Schematic figurine (Fig. 27.3, 27.7).

E 3905, Archaeological Museum of Miletus.

Miletus, Athena Temple. Trench Q 94.27 U.

Miletus IIc-d (EB II late – EB III). Dating: EB III.

Height 42 mm; width 30 mm; thickness 8 mm.

Triangular head and ovoid body, comparable with types of Troy 2G-H (Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27, fig. 127).

Coarse-grained white marble, homogenous, well-crystallised, non-translucent, with grey horizontal veins visible mostly on the frontal side. Polishing not preserved. Head and part of the upper body are preserved. The top of the head and the lower part of the body are missing. Head and body are distinguished with wide sharp notches. Shoulders are sharply elaborated and are distinguished from the rather rectangular or trapezoidal body. Frontal and back are flat. Both profiles have been worked to be quite sharp.

Cf. Schmidt 1902, 279 no. 7513; Blegen *et al.* 1951, fig. 147 no. 37-158 (Troy IV); Lloyd & Mellaart 1962, 266-7, F1. 21 (Level XIII); Joukowsky 1996, 213 fig. 231 (EBA-MBA).

Discussion

The occurrence in a secondary deposition of a broken part of a quite rare variety of an EC II (early) figurine in a settlement outside the Cyclades, as in the case of Miletus IIIa, is of great importance for its economic, social and symbolic value. In evaluating these parameters, the following issues should be taken into account.

- 1) Old and new interpretations of the meaning of EC figurines as – to mention only some suggestions – divine idols, images of mortals, conveyors of the dead to the afterlife, ancestors, apotropaic

- images, and prestige objects used in rituals related with important stages of life or with the cult of the ancestors (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 71–2 with references).
- 2) The occurrence of EC figurines in funeral, settlement-domestic and ritual contexts in the Cyclades (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 63–4; Mina 2008, 75, 93, fig. 6.11; Renfrew *et al.* this volume). Some 21% of EC figurines with secure provenance in the Aegean derive from graves, while a smaller amount (8%) was found in settlements (Renfrew *et al.* this volume). Finally, at Kavos-Dhaskalio on Keros, an exceptional place associated with rituals and interpreted as a sanctuary (Renfrew *et al.* 2012), 65% of EC figurines with known provenance have been recovered within authorised archaeological fieldwork (Renfrew *et al.* this volume). Recent excavations at the settlement of Dhaskalio revealed more contextualised marble figurines, that had either ‘a domestic use in residential dwellings, or ... their apparent concentration in the buildings at the summit is associated with a special public use of those buildings’ (Renfrew 2013, 486).
 - 3) The distribution of figurines not only in a settlement phase contemporary with the time of their production, but also in distinctive contexts of post-EC habitation levels. At Ayia Irini on Kea, EC figurines were found not only in EC II levels (Wilson 2017), but also in MC–LM IB and in LC IIIC (LC, Temple) levels (Hershenson & Overbeck 2017). It should be noted that at Ayia Irini, later re-contextualised EC figurines occurred in settlement areas in which deep trenches revealed habitation in the EC period, a fact that supports an intentional re-use of these specific EC artefacts over generations. Further cases are reported from the MC–LC phases at Phylakopi II–III on Melos (Renfrew & Boyd 2017), from a Late Helladic IIIC Mansion at Koukounaries on Paros (Katsarou & Schilardi 2017), and from the LC IA Cenotaph Square at Akrotiri on Thera (Sotirakopoulou 1998; Dumas 2008; Dumas 2017).
 - 4) The distribution of figurines in Cycladic Bronze Age houses (Ayia Irini, Phylakopi, Dhaskalio, Skarkos, Koukounaries), or beneath them as foundation offerings (Ayia Irini III: Wilson 2017), in workshops (Building of the Figurines at Skarkos on Ios: Marthari 2017), in streets (Ayia Irini III), in open spaces (LC IA Akrotiri), or – in mainland Greece and on Crete – even among rubbish (Mina 2008, 73–5, 92–4, figs 6.7–13).
 - 5) The high percentage of deliberately broken figurines, as for example in the case of Keros (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 38–44, fig. 5; Renfrew *et al.* 2018), or repaired

figurines (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 67–9, table 2) in settlements, as for example in Ayia Irini (Hershenson & Overbeck 2017), and their re-use after the break recall discussions on fragmentation (Gamble 2005) based also on experiments that demonstrate intentional breakage of imitations of clay figurines from the Neolithic Balkans (Chapman & Gaydarska 2007, 7–8), more fragile than marble ones. For an investigation of an intentional fragmentation for ritual purposes the relationship between place, person and thing should first be considered. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that artefacts that become ritual may have been equally important in everyday contexts before their fragmentation, after which they may be used either in the same (domestic) or in another (communal) context (Gamble 2005, 89). Ritual killing of figurines, pottery or metal implements may occur in particular with burial gifts for symbolising death, where the killing of artefacts in settlements and the preservation and use of their fragments depends on local social codes associated with respect for the ancestors and therefore with life and fertility.

- 6) The nature of the secondary context of EC figurines found outside the Cyclades is also essential for illuminating the conditions of their acquisition and of their adoption. This requires knowledge of political, economic and social structures, as well as of the symbolic codes of a non-Cycladic community acquiring an EC figurine.

The preliminary study of the limited archaeological evidence from Miletus I and II as outlined above shows a settlement with evolved economic structures that enabled, along with its strategic location at the Delta of the Maeander River, contacts with central Anatolia and other parts of the Aegean (Niemeier 2000, 125–7). Obsidian finds from Emporio, Tigani, Heraion, Kulaksızlar, Liman Tepe, Bakla Tepe, Malkayasi Cave, Miletus, Çine-Tepecik, Beycesultan and Aphrodisias point to a well-established obsidian trade network between the Cyclades and western Anatolian littoral, in which Chios and Samos appear to have been the most important links (Kouka 2014, 57–8, fig. 1 with relevant bibliography; Kouka 2015, 226). Miletus acted as the last station of this network on the Aegean coast and controlled further distribution of obsidian inland in western Anatolia.

Despite the absence of any EB I (later) –II (early) architecture on the islet of the Athena Temple – periods of a cultural *koine* in the east Aegean and of intensive interaction with the Cyclades (Kouka 2013, 576–7) – and the limited architecture of the EB II (late) –III periods, cultural levels have been found beneath the extensively investigated

MBA and LBA levels of Miletus. Abundant pottery includes fine grey and red burnished ware, as well as red-washed pots, such as handmade or wheel-made shallow bowls and hybrid *depas* cups of samian creation (Milojčić 1961, pls 14.6–8, 15.4, 15.8, 39.22), a very special ceramic product that imitates metallic prototypes (Kouka 2013, fig. 4 right). The decorated wares include red burnished bowls with plastic decoration, and grey burnished jugs with incised decoration. The imported pottery comprises several askoi (duck vases) typical of the EC III period (Phylakopi I.2–3; Niemeier 2000, 128–9, abb. 9; 2005, 3, fig. 3; 2007, 8, pl. 1.5.) and Early Minoan IIB miniature vases, such as a pyxis with vertical lugs and a juglet with a light-brown washed surface. The ceramics of Miletus IIC–d have parallels in Troy II (late) through Troy IV (early), Poliochni Red and Yellow, Liman Tepe V–VI, Emporio III–I, Heraion II–V, and Asomatos on Rhodes (Kouka 2002, table 1). Furthermore, the imports from the Cyclades and Crete indicate an active role of Miletus IIC–d in the local and more extensive trade networks of the Aegean EB II (late) and EB III (Kouka 2002, 300–1, map 1). Moreover, the presence of the imports points to contacts with coastal south and central Anatolia, as the metal-like form of an EB III hybrid *depas* shows. The extremely thin body and handles of this *depas*, as well as the lustrous surface, point to a very special ceramic product that imitates metallic prototypes identical with the mass-produced drinking vessels found at Heraion IV–V (EB III), which via Miletus were forwarded to Aphrodisias (Joukowsky 1986, 390, fig. 323), Tarsus (Goldman 1956, fig. 266, nos 508, 511, 512), and to Beycesultan X–IX also, together with EC III askoi (EB IIIa: Lloyd & Melaart 1962, figs 50. 46–47, sheet 6 no. 23–*depas*; figs 53.1–2, sheet 6 no. 35–askos).

Within the framework of highly active trade interconnections primarily for the acquisition of obsidian from the Cyclades and metals from Anatolia (Niemeier 2000, 127–9 with relevant bibliography) the acquisition of an EC figurine does not seem so surprising at all. The dating of the figurine to EC II (early), a period of intensive interaction that led to a cultural ‘international spirit’ within the Aegean (Renfrew 1972, 451–5, fig. 20.5; Broodbank 2000, 279–87; Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011), makes the acquisition of the Dokathismata figurine during this period and its first use in another part of Milesia possible, since the area of the Athena Temple was by that time below sea-level (see above).

The macroscopic identification of the marble of the figurine as Naxian, in combination with the scientific identification of the use of marble from Naxos for the production of many of the EC figurines found on Keros (Tambakopoulos & Maniatis 2018; Maniatis *et al.* 2005, 340–1), allows a hypothesis for a provenance of the Miletus Dokathismata figurine from Naxos. Contacts between Naxos and western Anatolia can be traced in EB II (late)

through an EC II beaked jug with a two-stage neck profile and incised handle found at Heraion (Milojčić 1961, taf. 44. 2–2a) which is identical with the one from Panormos on Naxos (Angelopoulou 2014, 226, fig. 3.68–jug).

We cannot be sure whether the Dokathismata figurine reached Miletus during the Keros-Syros phase or later, either as a whole or fragmented. Important in our discussion is its deposition in an open space of Miletus IIIa (MBA), which succeeded an open space of the Miletus IIC–d (EB II late–III), in which four figurines of Anatolian types were concentrated in the same area, along with a big millstone, most probably as protagonists of specific symbolic-ritual actions accompanied by the consumption of wine in *depas* cups and bowls of high quality. As the importance of figurines lay in their frequent occurrence in a context (*e.g.* at the settlement of Dhaskalio), the conscious deposition of four figurines in the open space and of two more, also of Anatolian origin, further south of them – some also partially fragmented – signify their role for the EBA Milesian community in commensal activities. Their abandonment followed by the levelling of this area indicates a farewell from this socially and symbolically important open space of the EBA settlement. The re-contextualisation of the Dokathismata figurine among the stone-paved open space of the initial MBA phase of Miletus IIIa leads to the assumption that this *exoticum* may have been previously incorporated in local feasts together with the Anatolian figurines for its symbolic value, as a link with the ancestors. The ancestors had obtained it either as a whole or as a part and used it firstly in another part of Miletus beyond the area of the Athena Temple, before its inheritance by the next generation. The final deposition of the imported Dokathismata marble figurine in the MBA context may indicate the sealing of the vanished past of the EBA ancestors. We can only wonder whether the EC figurine was used for the latter or for another purpose just once or several times during the initial MBA. To strengthen this suggestion I recall the concentration of EC I–II (early) figurines at the ‘Cenotaph Square’ of LC IA Akrotiri on Thera for ceremonial use (Doumas 2008, 170–5, figs 17.14, 17.15, 17.17). If so, then a late use of the imported figurine in the case of Miletus for feasting in the memory of the ancestors seems more likely. However, in the case of its suggested earlier context of the EB II (late) –III with the local stone figurines, it may have been used in commensal feasts for life and fertility. The latter assumption takes into account the Minoan sanctuary with an altar court found in this part of the LBA settlement phase of Miletus used for religious actions following the Minoan rituals for fertility (Miletus IVa, squares 315/585–590: Niemeier 2007a, 11–2, taf. 3.5). The evidence for cult in the Mycenaean phase of the settlement (Miletus VI: Niemeier 2007a, 15) offers

indications for ritual action as well as the dedication of this part of Miletus to the cult of Athena.

Conclusion

The quality of finds from the Temple of Athena at Miletus points to the presence of a flourishing harbour settlement at the Maeander Delta open to both the Aegean and the Anatolian world, which was inhabited without interruption from the MCh through the Late Bronze Ages. Despite the limited architectural evidence of Miletus IIC–d, ceramics of high quality, *e.g.* *depas* cups used by a local elites, EM II–III and EC III imports, and a possible symbolic context with six local Anatolian schematic marble figurines and one imported of Dokathismata type from the Cyclades (EC II early) indicate a settlement with evolved social and economic structures set between the Aegean and the Anatolian world with a strong communal symbolism, in which foreign symbols could be incorporated.

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THIRD-MILLENNIUM BC ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES OF WESTERN ANATOLIA, A COMPARATIVE VIEW. TOWARDS A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE ORIGINS AND MEANINGS OF CYCLADIC FIGURINES

Rıza Tuncel & Vasıf Şahoğlu

Cycladic figurines, the ‘idols’ of old, have held a fascination with archaeologists and artists from the 19th and early 20th century to those of the present era. From the artistic re-workings of Giacometti to the theoretical appraisals of modern-day archaeologists, these works involving abstract or schematic (in modern terms) representations of the human form have held a fascination for the modern viewer as well (for a recent assessment see Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2011). The labelling of these figurines as ‘idols’, though much debated, is perhaps not so much of a misnomer. Most of them have been found in burial contexts (Doulas 1977) or in ‘special deposits’ (as at Keros: Renfrew *et al.* 2018; Sotirakopoulou 2005), thus the interpretation of their value and meaning within the spiritual realm is most possibly not unwarranted.

In this study, we outline the long history of figurines manufactured in Anatolia, acknowledging full well their parallel production in the wider world of southwestern Asia and the Aegean. Since the main purpose of this paper is to give a brief overview of the idols found in western and – to a more limited extent – central Anatolia, we will try to

present a comparative discussion of ‘Cycladic’ figurines from the perspective of figurine production and consumption in western Anatolia. The paper will outline the iconography of such representations, the materials used for their manufacture and their contexts, as well as commenting on probable influences from the Anatolian mainland on their possible reinterpretation and production in the Cyclades.

These ‘sculptures’, though pleasing to the contemporary eye with their ‘modern’ aesthetics and sensibilities, must have possessed an entirely different meaning to their viewers, and thus consumers, in the past. In this paper, we will try to question this particular form of representation and the meaning it may have held for the cultures to which they belonged. Although ‘Cycladic’ sculptures have been thus labelled, we question whether their form and meaning originate from their eponymous islands or if they (or the meanings they held) belong to a wider geography and belief system whereby their incorporation to the cultural landscape of the Cyclades meant a re-interpretation of both their form and meaning.

Are they, in other words, reflections of a common representational trait, perhaps the result of a common ideology within the wider Aegean world that came to be given a novel form (and perhaps a new meaning) on the Cycladic islands? Although these questions are hard to answer in the present state of our knowledge, it is hoped that the discussion presented here will open new avenues of research in the field of the representation and meaning of these figurines.

What is a 'Cycladic' figurine?

As Renfrew illustrated more than 45 years ago (Renfrew 1969), there is a long tradition of figurine production in the Cyclades. The reader will realise that we enclose the term 'Cycladic', when referring to the figurines, in quotation marks. This is not to doubt their authenticity as products of the Cycladic culture (within this paper 'Cycladic' refers to the Early Cycladic period, *i.e.* dating roughly to the 3rd millennium BC). Nevertheless, when one talks or writes about 'Cycladic' figurines, what comes to mind is not the Saliagos lady, or the schematic figurines originating from the Cyclades, but that which is specifically 'Cycladic', the folded arm figurines of the Keros-Syros culture.

One of the distinctive features of the folded-arm figurines of the Cyclades is, as the label suggests, the folded arms (specifically left arm above the right) in front of the waist which suggests, for some, a posture of veneration towards a deity. The idea that may be of interest here is whether such folded-arm figurines had a precedent elsewhere in the islands of the Aegean or Anatolia.

The function of Cycladic figurines has also been a topic of interest. This is wrought with difficulties since the figurines themselves, although they share certain characteristics, do display variation in size, composition and context (the fact that many Cycladic figurines come from illicit excavations and have been acquired through the antiquities market, raising questions of forgeries, complicates matters further: Gill & Chippindale 1993). Smaller statues that have been found in grave contexts have been interpreted as having been previously used in domestic cult, broken and repaired (Getz-Preziosi 1981), while the larger ones may have been used in a more public cult, perhaps in a sanctuary (Renfrew 1984; 1991, 102–03).

Figurative representations in the round – the Anatolian background

The Anatolian mainland (Fig. 28.1) has a long history of producing human representations (with possible cultic connotations). From the earliest times, there are representations of possibly divine beings in Göbekli

Tepe (Schmidt 2010), although these are integrated into the architecture of the buildings and are monumental, thus possibly holding a different meaning than the more portable figurines which are the main concern of the present paper (the 'Anatolianism' of the sculptures of the Urfa region may also be contested, being located in the liminal zone of southeastern Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia). Nevertheless, it may be argued that such traits of representation and meaning were transferred to central Anatolia (and then to western Anatolia) through time by an exchange of ideas, shared or transferred beliefs or migrating populations (see *e.g.* Özdoğan 2011; 2014).

The posture of hands meeting in front of the waist, a common feature of the Göbekli Tepe 'T-Shaped Pillars' (*e.g.* Schmidt 2010, figs 8–9) as well as similar ones known from Nevalı Çori (Schmidt 2010, fig. 5) and the life-size PPNA sculpture from Urfa (Schmidt 2010, fig. 14), although not folded, may be significant in tracing the origins of the posture or gesture which becomes a defining feature of the folded-arm figurines of the Cyclades. The emphasis on the male form (rather than the female, which defines many of the later Neolithic figurines from Anatolia, as well as those from the Cyclades) is a distinctive feature of the southeastern Anatolian representational art in the PPNA/PPNB.

Non-folded arms meeting in front of the belly (or touching the breasts) is one of the gestures characterising the Çatal Höyük (Mellaart 1967) and Ulucak (Çilingiroğlu *et al.* 2004, fig. 30, nos 1–2) figurines as well.

The meeting of arms in front of the body (not necessarily folding, including those that touch the breasts) has a long history in southwest Asia. One may ask if this is a variation of a posture which holds a similar meaning or represents a notion or belief which is entirely different. One may surmise that the Plastiras type, as defined by Renfrew (Renfrew 1969, 6–8, Ill. 2.II), represents a similar posture. This is in fact implied by Renfrew, whereby the folded-arm figurines are represented as having been descended from figurines having their hands on their bellies and the Kephala heads as having a direct influence on the representation of heads in the folded-arm figurines (Renfrew 1969, Ill. 4).

As Renfrew prophesied long ago, recent evidence also proves that western Anatolia seems to have had a long history of stone and marble working (Renfrew 1972, 166), dating to a period much earlier than when the celebrated 'Cycladic' figurines appear in the Cyclades. Although the manifestation of truly 'Cycladic' figurines, as evidenced by their contexts, was not truly Anatolian in concept, the presence of uncannily similar forms in Anatolia long before they appear in the islands of the Aegean poses important questions and begs an explanation as to what similar figurines may have meant in their Anatolian context.

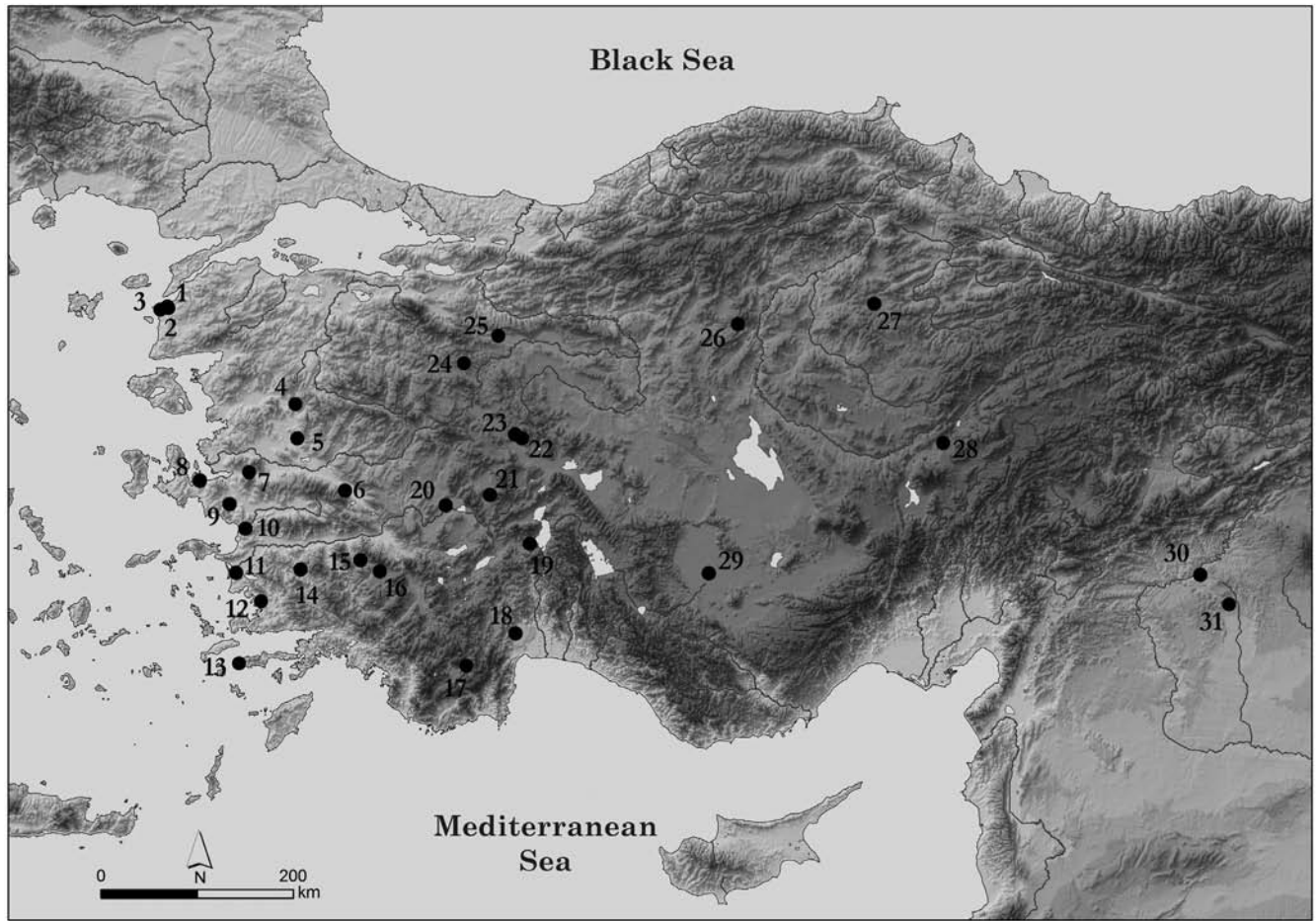


Figure 28.1 Sites mentioned in the text: 1. Troy, 2. Beşik – Yassitepe, 3. Hanaytepe, 4. Yortan, 5. Kulaksızlar, 6. Alaşehir – Gavurtepe, 7. Ulucak, 8. Liman Tepe, 9. Bakla Tepe, 10. Çukuriçi Höyük, 11. Miletos, 12. İasos, 13. Deveboynu Burnu (Cape Krio), 14. Çine Tepecik, 15. Aphrodisias, 16. Karahisar, 17. Karataş – Semayük, 18. Karain, 19. Harmanören, 20. Beycesultan, 21. Kusura, 22. Karaoğlan Mevkii, 23. Kaklık Mevkii, 24. Seyitömer, 25. Demircihöyük, 26. Hasanoğlan, 27. Alacahöyük, 28. Kültepe, 29. Çatalhöyük, 30. Nevalı Çori, 31. Göbekli Tepe.

The Chalcolithic evidence

The presence of production centres for figurines is well attested in western Anatolia through the evidence from the workshop of Kulaksızlar-Manisa, known only from surface surveys (Dinç 1996; 1997; Takaoğlu 2002; 2005). The Kulaksızlar workshop is an important, and so far the only known, production centre for the marble Kilia-type figurines in Anatolia. Kilia figurines are named after the site of Kilia, where the first known example was found by Calvert (Calvert 1901; Caskey 1972). With their heads tilted slightly backwards, they have cylindrical necks and almost wing-like arms, which may represent an abbreviation of hands reaching to the breasts or the belly. One characteristic of the Kilia-type figurines is the nose in relief which is the only feature of the head that is emphasised, although some Kilia-type figurines also have the ears and eyes represented.

Dated to the 5th millennium BC through a stylistic comparison of the finds, including pottery, the Kulaksızlar marble workshop is the earliest evidence we possess for a workshop specialising in the production of marble figurines and vessels in the region. The origin of such workshops, specialising in finished products, could be linked to the possibly older production of stone and marble bracelets as evidenced by the earlier Kanlıtaş stone bracelet workshop. Although a precise dating of the latter is not yet available (any date in the later 6th – mid-5th millennium BC seems possible), its discovery suggests the presence of earlier workshops specialising in the production of (albeit simpler) finished products (see Düring 2014, 15–16, for a brief discussion of marble bracelet production. An initial assessment of the Kanlıtaş bracelet workshop, with references, has also been offered by Baysal *et al.*: 2015).

The number of Kilia-type figurines known from secure archaeological contexts is few and there is little evidence to infer their original meaning. Apart from numerous examples that have been bought via the antiquities market, and those known from the surface survey of Kulaksızlar, there are various examples known from Aphrodisias dated to the early and middle 5th millennium BC (Joukowsky 1982, 90–3, figs 4.2, 3), as well as from Beşik-Yassitepe (Korfmann 1985, abb. 8, LL. 83.23), Hanaytepe (Virchow 1882, 147, taf. 12,7; Calvert 1881, 788, no 1551), Yortan (Collignon 1901, 815; Kâmil 1982, 20, fig. 84, 292; Dinç 1995, 94–5, pl. 6b), Karain (Seeher 1988, abb. 13, 2), Troy (Schmidt 1902, 282, 355. no. 7643; dated to Troy II–V), and Alaşehir-Gavurtepe (Meriç 1989, 165, res. 6). Recently, new examples have been found at different locations in coastal western Anatolia at sites like Çine-Tepecik (Günel 2014b, 91–3, pls 6–10), Çukuriçi Höyük (Horejs 2013, 7, 9) and Ulucak Höyük (Özlem Çevik, pers. comm.).

One of the most problematic aspects of the Kilia figurines is their chronology. There are examples which come from the EBA levels of Troy as well as the cemetery at Yortan (see above), while others are from mixed deposits (e.g. Ulucak, Çukuriçi Höyük). Some have considered those coming from EBA deposits (with no other admixture of material) to be heirlooms (Seeher 1992, 163; Takaoğlu 2002, 80). It is possible that such items were curated but one could also argue that there may have been a continuity of production, perhaps on a diminished scale, lasting into the Late Chalcolithic or even the EBA. The only Kilia figurines to have a more or less secure stratigraphic context come from Aphrodisias, with more recent ones from Çine-Tepecik. These are all dated to the 5th millennium BC. Kulaksızlar, a centre of production of such figurines, as well as conical beakers in marble, is unfortunately only known from surface finds. Although the surface finds of both are associated with 5th-millennium BC pottery, their lack of stratigraphic information cannot help us tie their chronology more securely.

Although Kilia-type figurines do not resemble – or correspond in time to – the Cycladic figurines of the folded-arm type, they are the first of their kind to be produced in marble through specialised workshops. Kulaksızlar is most probably not the only such workshop that existed but it is the only one that has been discovered so far. However, Düring suggests that Kulaksızlar may have been the main supplier, based on the data known so far that most pointed beakers and Kilia figurines are found within a 350 km radius from Kulaksızlar (Düring 2014, 15). In the Kulaksızlar marble workshop, the production of Kilia-type figurines seems to be associated with the production of marble vessels. This recalls the association of marble figurines with marble vessels as evidenced in Cycladic graves. One may hypothesise that the folded-arm figurines of the Cyclades were likewise produced by workshops. Attempts have been

made by various scholars to identify such workshops or hands in their production (Getz-Preziosi 1987).

Düring (2014), in a study of materials and craft networks in prehistoric Anatolia, considers the production and exchange of stone artefacts (such as stone vessels and figurines) in prehistoric Anatolia and argues that,

[I]n Chalcolithic Asia Minor, we can document the rise of shared value regimes, that is, the values of specific items in particular cultural systems [...] across a substantial region that linked previously distinct cultural groups.

Düring 2014, 7.

In other words, from the exchange of valuable raw materials in the Neolithic period such as obsidian, the exchange of finished products in the Chalcolithic involved a high value placed on the finished product inter-regionally (which also represents a cultural agreement on the value of such items between different regions) rather than the intrinsic value placed on the rarity of the raw material itself.

Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the exchange of valuable raw materials continued while a more widespread exchange in finished products gradually emerged. Perhaps the most important – archaeologically visible – material which has a long history of exchange is obsidian. In western Anatolia, especially in areas closer to the Aegean coast, most of the obsidian seems to have been imported from Melos (Milić 2014, 288–9, figs 1&2). This also holds true for mainland Greece. Thus both mainlands on the opposite sides of the Aegean sea partook in a wide network of exchange, perhaps initially limited to raw materials (such as obsidian), and later including finished products. It should be remembered that with the more widespread use of copper, and later bronze, the exchange in raw materials continued across the Aegean sea.

Do the Kilia-type figurines, originating from at least the mid-5th millennium BC, represent the origins of what the ‘Cycladic’ figurines came to mean? How does the interaction between the islands and the mainlands on both sides of the Aegean reflect the different uses of these figurines? Are these figurines a reflection of a shared set of cultural expressions amongst the cultural groups of the Cycladic islands and the Anatolian mainland?

Anthropomorphic figurines of the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia

In the Early Bronze Age there are figurines with forms which are shared between Anatolia and the Cyclades. These are not usually called ‘Cycladic’ in stylistic terms. They include schematic figurines which are known both from the Cyclades and Anatolia but are not distinctively viewed as ‘Cycladic’; in fact, in Anatolian archaeology, they are viewed as ‘Anatolian’.

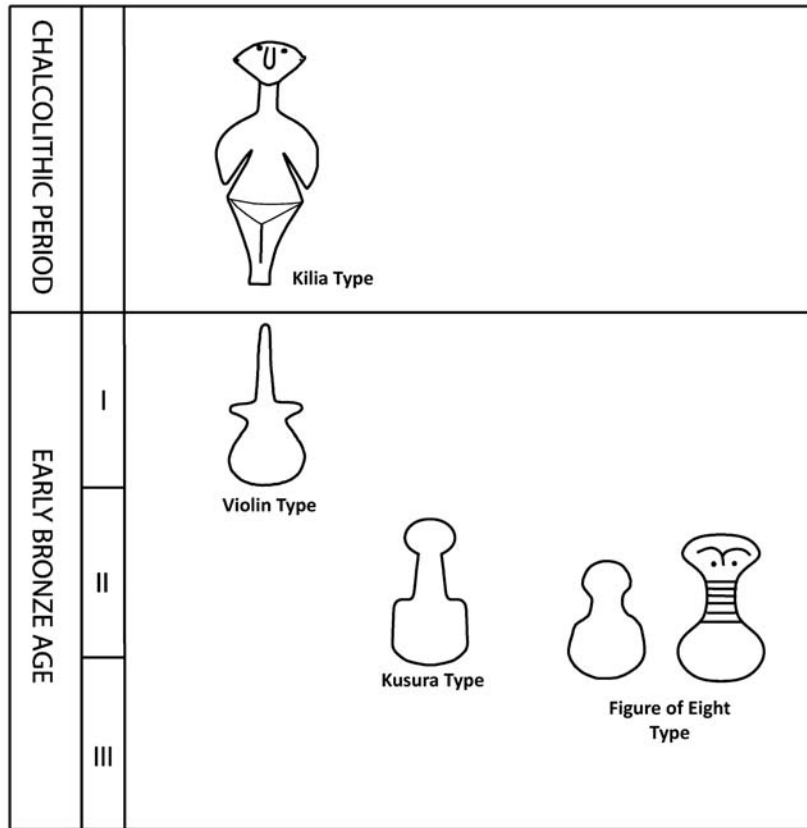


Figure 28.2 Diagram of main figurine types from coastal western Anatolia (Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age).

Most of the marble or stone figurines from Anatolia during the EBA may be said to be variations of a single type, a figurine with a larger lower half of circular/semi-circular shape, sometimes with vestigial arms, and a long or short neck that ends in a head of various (mostly schematic) forms. It should be pointed out that most of the partially preserved figurines have their heads missing or, conversely, have only the head represented in the archaeological assemblage. This is understandable since the narrower part (*i.e.* the neck) of the figurine would be much more prone to breaking. Nevertheless, one should consider whether the heads (or the figurines themselves) were deliberately broken before they were deposited in contexts subsequently excavated.

The marble and stone figurines known from coastal western Anatolia can be classified into the following broad categories. The nomenclature of the schematic Anatolian figurines mostly follows Renfrew's classification (Fig. 28.2; Renfrew 1969).

Figure-of-eight figurines

These are best known from Troy I-II (*e.g.* Blegen *et al.* 1950, 27, 45–6, 216, fig. 127), Bakla Tepe (Şahoğlu 2016)

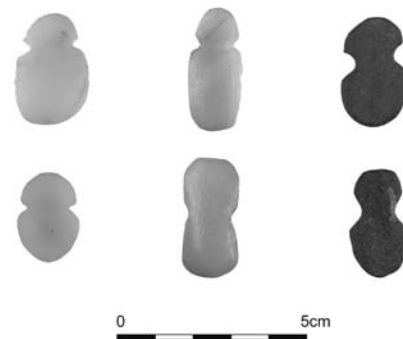


Figure 28.3 Group of figure-of-eight figurines from Bakla Tepe 'Special Deposit'. Late EB II. (Upper row left to right BT36233; BT36184; BT36053; lower row left to right BT36159; BT36034; BT36071).

and numerous other sites. These are, as the name implies, figurines with a rounded head and a more or less rounded lower body, where the neck is not elongated (Figs 28.2–28.6). This type is also known as 'Troy type' (*cf.* Efe & Türkteki 2011). Sometimes features such as eyes, nose and brows are also incised on the body (Fig. 28.3; Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 334 nos 387–9, 341 nos 449–51, 455, 342 no. 457).

Violin-shaped figurines

These belong to a type best known from Beycesultan and are characterised by vestigial arms protruding horizontally from a piriform body and an elongated neck which narrows at the top (Lloyd & Mellaart 1962, 269, fig F, 1, 1–13 for those from Level XVIIb; fig F, 1, 14 and 17 for those from Level XVIIc). Such figurines are also known from surface surveys at Subak, in the Emet plain in Kütahya (Efe 1994, 574, fig. 8), Çine-Tepecik (Günel 2008, res. 1–2), Höyüktepe (Sandalcı 2015, 448, 461–4, figs 1–4) and Çukuriçi Höyük (Horejs 2012, 7, 9).

In the original publication of Beycesultan, Mellaart called these ‘figurines with stalklike heads’ and considered them to be related to the fiddle-shaped marble figurines from Cycladic tombs. He interpreted the strong resemblances between the two as ‘emphasis[ing] the role Anatolia played in the growth of Early Cycladic culture’ (Lloyd & Mellaart 1962, 271). Earlier, Bossert (1942) had clearly seen such figurines as being part of the Cycladic sphere of influence (Fig. 28.3).

‘Kusura-type’ figurines

The site of Kusura was where the ‘Kusura-type’ idols were first defined by Lamb (Lamb 1937, fig. 11.5; Lamb 1938, fig 17.1–5). The Kusura-type is characterised by a discoid head attached to a larger semi-circular, subrectangular or ‘spade-like’ body through a long neck (Lamb 1938, fig. 17.4, pl. LXXXIV.11 – early transitional period). Kusura-type figurines have a wide distribution. They are also known from Karahisar (Yaylalı & Akdeniz 2002), Karataş-Semayük (Mellink 1964, 277, pl. 82, figs 24–25; Mellink 1967, 253–4, pl. 77, figs 13–15) and Harmanören cemetery (Özsait 2000, fig. 10) amongst other sites (Fig. 28.1).

It should also be pointed out that there exists an intermediate type which is a cross between the ‘violin-shaped’ and ‘Kusura-type’ figurines. These have vestigial arms protruding from the upper part of the body and a long neck, which ends in a discoid head. Most of the known examples are unprovenanced or have been bought by museums or private collectors with some ‘indication’ of their find-places which coincide with the distribution of both types (i.e. ‘violin-shaped’ and ‘Kusura-type’ idols; Bilgi 2012, 205–6, figs 481–94). Another example of this variant is from the EB II levels at Beycesultan, and these are, like the violin-shaped figurines of late EB I, flat and schematised but have rounded heads (called ‘disc-head’ by Mellaart; Lloyd & Mellaart 1962, 271–2; there are also some head and body fragments believed to belong to this type). Mellaart compared these to the figurines from Troy I-II and also considered them to be variants of Kusura figurines of Period B. The figurines from Kaklık Mevkii cemetery, in use

during the EB II/III periods, are also mostly this variant type (cf. Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 313 no. 307).

The phalloi from Liman Tepe

There are also some other unique recent find assemblages which prove that there is a much wider range of representational reflections of the belief systems in western Anatolia. The most recent example of this is an assemblage of phalloi from Liman Tepe, originating from the context of a central building. This group of finds is so far unique and perhaps points to a different set of beliefs (or a different representation of perhaps common beliefs) in this particular settlement.

Their archaeological context is believed to be an open courtyard belonging to a possible administrative or cultic complex situated at a central location of the walled citadel (Şahoğlu 2004, 98–9, figs 1–2; Şahoğlu 2005, 349–50, fig. 3; Şahoğlu 2008, 488–90, fig. 6). The topographic position of this central building is somewhat curious. As evidenced by the topography of the mound during the late EB II period, this central building lies at a saddle that is located between the northern and southern higher grounds of the settlement. The building is nevertheless undoubtedly important as evidenced by its storage rooms, built against the southern slope of the higher ground. The presence of these figurines at this location point to an area of special function. There are seven figurines of this type but not all are well-formed. At least three of them are worked fully but the others look unfinished or not fully shaped. The most peculiar example of all is the one with a monkey head (Fig. 28.8). The head of this phallos-shaped object reflects high artistic skills and the artistic touch clearly rendered the anatomical details of a monkey. A second example reflects a natural phallos shape, worked with fine details (Fig. 27.9). A third example found in recent years at a nearby location also reflects characteristic details of a phallos (Erkanal *et al.* 2015, 481).

It is interesting to note that the Liman Tepe phalloi emphasise male sexuality, rather than the commonly assumed (and frequently represented) female sexuality of the Cycladic figurines. But, in this context, one should also be reminded of the sexlessness of many figurines that originate from both Anatolia and the Cyclades (cf. the Troy, Beycesultan and Kusura-type figurines of Anatolia as well as related forms in the Cyclades). We cannot know for certain whether details of anatomy were added onto such schematic figurines in paint (as is well known from Cycladic examples where traces of paint have been preserved – although in these instances no painted representations of genitals, and thus sex, are known: Carter 2008; Hendrix 1998; 2003; Hoffmann 2002; Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2011a, 79).

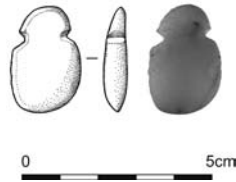


Figure 28.4 Figure-of-eight-shaped figurine from the 'Special Deposit' at Bakla Tepe. Izmir Archaeology Museum inv. no. 19074.

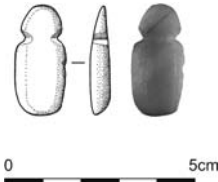


Figure 28.5 Figure-of-eight-shaped figurine from the 'Special Deposit' at Bakla Tepe. Izmir Archaeology Museum inv. no. 19072.

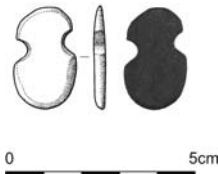


Figure 28.6 Figure-of-eight-shaped figurine from the 'Special Deposit' at Bakla Tepe. Izmir Archaeology Museum inv. no. 19084.

Catalogue of figurines

Figure-of-eight-shaped figurine from the 'Special Deposit' at Bakla Tepe (Fig. 28.4).

Square H-12; plansquare I/h; depth 59.48; box no. BT 36233
Excavation inv. no. BT 98/44; Izmir Archaeology Museum inv. no. 19074.

Height 29 mm; width 20 mm; thickness 6 mm.

Late EB II

The assymetrically formed figurine is made of a pebble of white marble. The head and body of the stylised idol are divided by V-shaped notches on either side. The natural form of the pebble has been partially preserved.

Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, no. 200.

Figure-of-eight-shaped figurine from the 'Special Deposit' at Bakla Tepe (Fig. 28.5).

Square H-12; plansquare: IV/h; depth 59.55; box no: BT 36184
Excavation inv. no. BT 98/41; Izmir Archaeology Museum inv. no. 19072.

Height 29 mm; width 14 mm; thickness 5 mm.

Late EB II

The smaller head and body of a stylised figurine are divided by V-shaped notches on either side. The front surface has been smoothed but the reverse surface has been left rough. Made of a pebble of white marble.

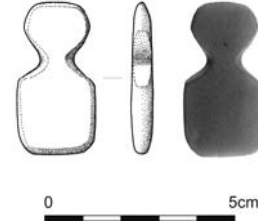


Figure 28.7 Figure-of-eight-shaped figurine from the 'Central Court' at Liman Tepe. Izmir Archaeology Museum inv. no. 17904.

Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 288, no. 199.

Figure-of-eight-shaped' figurine from the 'Special Deposit' at Bakla Tepe (Fig. 28.6).

Square H-12; plansquare VII/c; depth 60.53; box no. BT 36053
Excavation inv. no. BT 98/29; Izmir Archaeology Museum inv. no. 19084.

Height 26 mm; width 17 mm; thickness 3 mm.

Late EB II

The head and body of stylised figurine are divided by V-shaped notches on either side. The original form of the pebble has been partly preserved. Made of brown-grey coloured stone.

Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 288, no. 202.

Figure-of-eight-shaped figurine from the 'Central Court' at Liman Tepe (Fig. 28.7).

Square V-4; plansquare VIII/k; depth 2.21; box no LMT 14290
Excavation inv. no LMT 96/206; Izmir Archaeology Museum inv. no 17904.

Height 40.9 mm; width 21.3 mm; thickness 6.1 mm.

Late EB II

The figurine has a rounded head separated with a short neck from the almost square body. White marble.

Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 288, no. 204.

Stone phallus with a monkey's head from the 'Central Court' at Liman Tepe (Fig. 28.8).

Found close to the eastern corner of wall no. 17. Square V-5; plansquare III/c; depth 1.35; box no. LMT 6430;

Excavation inv. no LMT 95/395; Izmir Archaeology Museum inv. no 17467.

Preserved height 128.1 mm; head diameter 50.2 mm; body diameter 48.9 mm.

Late EB II

Phallus with the head carved in the form of a monkey's head. Some of the facial features are partially sculpted and the face is clearly outlined. The eyes are indicated by holes that were probably originally filled with another material. There is a vertical row of holes running from between the eyes down to the mouth which is indicated by a horizontal incised line that is partially damaged. The ears are indicated by projections. The lower part is broken. Made from schist.

Erkanal & Günel 1997, fig. 10; Erkanal 2008, fig. 9; Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 288–9, no. 207.

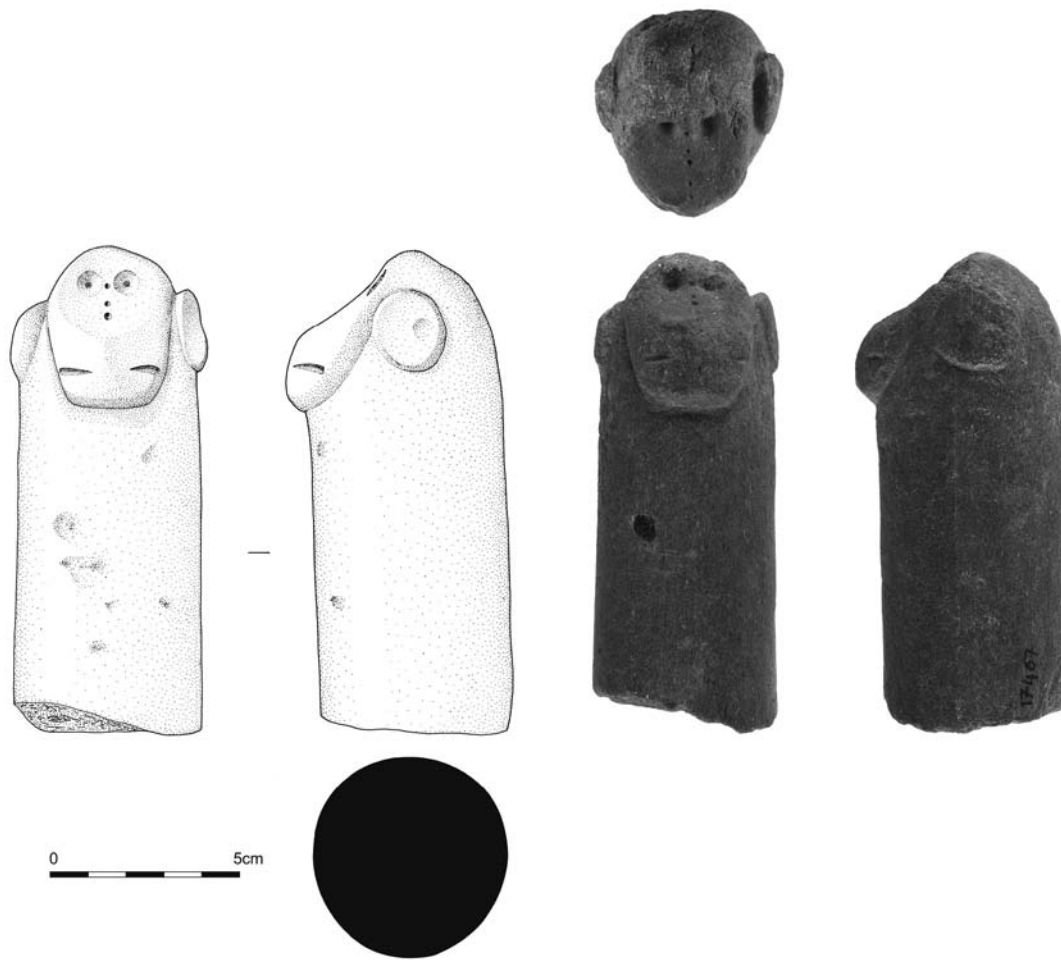


Figure 28.8 Stone phallus with a monkey's head from the 'Central Court' at Liman Tepe. Izmir Archaeology Museum inv. no. 17467.

Stone phallus from the 'Central Court' at Liman Tepe (Fig. 28.9).
Found close to the south-southwestern corner of wall no. 17.
Square U-5; plansquare II/h; depth 1.08; box no: LMT 5311
Excavation inv. no: LMT 95/422; Izmir Archaeology Museum inv.
no: 17469.

Height 146 mm; body diameter 47 mm.

Late EB II

Made of stone. The head is divided from the body (oval in cross-section) by a deep incision. The shaping of the head resembles the example in Fig. 28.8. It is most probably an unfinished example since marks (left unsmoothed) are clearly visible on various parts of the phallus. Made from local limestone.

Erkanal & Günel 1997, diagram 3; Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 288–9, no. 206; Şahoğlu in press, fig. 4.

Clay figurine head from Çine-Tepecik (Fig. 28.10).

The roughly trapezoidal-shaped head and the neck is preserved. The body of the figurine is missing. The nose is the only facial feature which is depicted.

Found in a context which yielded early EB I pottery (pers. comm., Sevinç Günel; see also Günel 2014a, res. 9).

Comments on contexts of the main marble or stone figurine types of western Anatolia

The lack of contextual information for many of the known figurines makes it difficult to comment on their function and the possible meanings they held for their contemporaries. This is mostly because such information is not provided in the publications of the excavated examples or because many have been looted and acquired on the antiquities market, or brought to museums as surface finds.

Figure-of-eight figurines (also known as the Troy type) are best known from Troy but unfortunately all the examples published from early excavations lack contextual information. The Bakla Tepe examples come from a 'special deposit' which represents the fill of the ditch that surrounded the EB I settlement. The deposit contained material dating to the late EB II period with associated pottery consisting of fine drinking and pouring vessels. Detailed analysis of this context is currently in progress but the first impression is that they may belong to a feasting

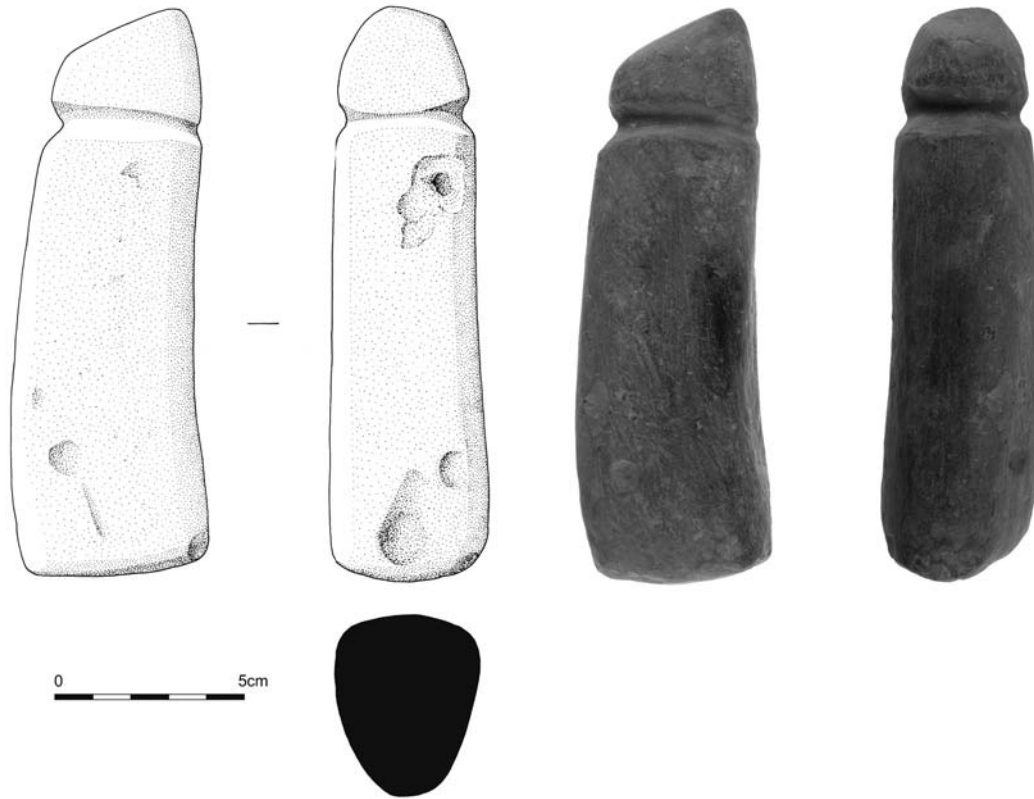


Figure 28.9 Stone phallus from the 'Central Court' at Liman Tepe. Izmir Archaeology Museum inv. no. 17469.



Figure 28.10 Clay figurine head from Çine-Tepecik.

activity involving drinking and eating in relation to some burial ceremonies.

For the violin-shaped figurines, the main contextual information comes from the site of Beycesultan itself where a group of 13 comes from Room 2 of the Level XVIIb 'temple', and two others from Level XVIIc, both levels said to be phases of the latest EB I by Mellaart. The identification of the EBA structures in Beycesultan as temples has not been accepted by many scholars, who consider them to be standard households but their deposition in a group is nevertheless significant.

The stone figurines from Kusura itself rarely have a specific context in the publication and none comes from a tomb. The Kusura-type figurines found at Karataş-Semayük all come from pithos burials (Mellink 1967, pl. 77, figs 13–15; pl. 75, fig. 5). Mellink considers it possible that they were deliberately broken before being placed into the grave while underlining their rarity as burial goods (Mellink 1967, 254). Another observation of Mellink also points to the possibility that the presence of figurines in graves may have a chronological or spatial significance (Mellink 1969, 324, noting the absence of figurines in the graves excavated in Trench 98, although there was a large number of child burials in this area. Mellink had previously linked figurines to the presence of child burials within a grave. Another cemetery with finds of marble figurines is Kaklık Mevkii (Efe *et al.* 1995; Topbaş *et al.* 1998) where most of the figurines are of the Kusura-type (Topbaş *et al.* 1998, figs 51, 54, 56, 58–9, 68–9, 71–2). This cemetery was used during the EB II/III periods. Similar figurines are reported from the nearby Karaoğlan Mevkii settlement (Topbaş *et al.* 1998, 44, fig. 67). Massa (2014, 83) also notes that at the Demircihüyük-Sarıket cemetery, marble and ceramic figurines are associated with sub-adult burials.

The settlement at Seyitömer has provided a rich array of figurines as well. These include Kusura-type as well as

figure-of-eight-type figurines (Bilgen 2015, fig. 193a, 193b, 193c). Although the publications so far do not provide details as to their contexts, that they mostly (if not exclusively) seem to come from the settlement suggests that the use of such figurines was not confined to burials (which may have been suggested by the Karataş-Semayük marble figurine finds).

One may surmise that the Alaca Höyük gold appliqués, dated to EB III in Anatolian terms, are related to the Kusura-type. This form is probably also represented in the well-known single or double alabaster ‘idols’ from Kültepe dating to the same period (Muscarella 2003, 279–80, no. 182; Öztürk 2015; Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 354, no. 503).

The presence of marble or stone figurines in both settlement and burial contexts is a practice that is shared between the western Anatolian mainland, and to a more limited extent, the Cyclades. As pointed out above, Cycladic figurines probably had a function in domestic cult (Davis 1984) before being interred in burials (based on observations that they had suffered breakage and repair before their final deposition in a grave). Although there are, as yet, no contemporary large figurines (or sculptures) from western Anatolia that parallel those from the Cycladic islands, the interment of symbolically charged marble or stone figurines in burial contexts is, nevertheless, a significant common denominator. This practice may have been repeated with clay figurines, when one considers the similarity of the clay heads with Cycladic traits being recovered associated with graves in Çine-Tepecik (see below).

Media of production and meaning

Figurines were produced in different media. The discussion here is confined to material which has a higher chance of survival in the archaeological record. It must, however, be acknowledged that wood was undoubtedly also used in the production of figurines and probably ranked alongside clay figurines, having been produced from a relatively common material. Considering the raw materials, it could be surmised that the intrinsic values of such figurines were not always the same (although their meaning and function were probably similar). Clay is the most easily accessible raw material and due to its malleability, the production of clay figurines requires little effort. The availability of good quality stone and marble, on the other hand, is more limited. Added to this (even if poorer-quality marble or stone is used) is the higher input of time and expertise put into the production of such figurines. At the top of the value scale would be metal figurines, which require access to even more limited resources, as well as technological expertise in metalworking.

Figurines in clay in western Anatolia

The production of figurines in clay has a long history in Anatolia as well as in southwestern Asia and Greece. In the EBA, the production of such figurines continued and some forms display similarities with the figurines produced in stone and marble.

Added details on figurines (apart from those of anatomy) are common in the clay figurine traditions of Anatolia. Efe & Türkteki (2011, 228) point out that in northwestern inland Anatolia (what they call the Phrygian region), clay figurines tend to be rather flat and highly stylised, with a long neck and a circular, or less commonly, triangular body. Incisions on the body, mainly diagonal, perpendicular lines (sometimes coupled with dots) across the chest (which we call a ‘harness’ in this publication), as well as horizontal lines (or dots) across the neck, probably representing a necklace, are very common. A triangular incised area with an infill of stippling in the lower part of the body most probably represents the female genital area (Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 306 nos 276–8, 307 no. 280.) The harness across the chest is especially well attested. These are sufficiently common across the various regions of western Anatolia to suggest that they are the reflection of a shared form of cultural expression. This type of clay figurine has a long chronological range, as well as a wide geographical distribution (see, e.g. Duru 2008, res. 341, 1 and 5 from Bademağacı in the Lake District; Obladen-Kauder 1996, taf. 111,7, taf. 116, 1, 2, 6; taf. 120, 2 from Demircihüyük in northwestern Anatolia; Lamb 1937, fig. 11,1–2 from Kusura; Bilgen 2015, fig. 193a, no. SÖ’09/1989, fig. 193b–c from Seyitömer) persisting from EB I to EB III.

The crossed lines across the front of the body is an interesting feature which recalls those known from both the Hasanoğlu figurine as well as some Cycladic figurines (Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 355 no. 507).

Inland western Anatolia is especially famous for its well-known disc-faced figurines, which form a specific type produced solely in clay and sometimes applied to vessels (Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, no. 298). These are dated by Efe & Türkteki (2011, 229–30, nos 280, 283–6, 302–03) to the middle phases of the EB II period.

‘Cycladic’ elements in clay and metal figurines

Within this context, one should take into account figurines with ‘Cycladic’ features in different (i.e. baked clay) materials. Such examples were previously known from Kephala (Coleman 1977, 105–06; pls 26, 71, 73, 96B, 128, 202). The Kephala culture is dated to c. 3300–3200 BC (for a recent re-dating of the Attic-Kephala culture see Alram-Stern 2014, with references), thus pre-dating the Early Cycladic figurines. Renfrew had long ago pointed out the relevance of the Kephala terracotta heads when considering the

origins of the folded-arm figurines (Renfrew 1969, 30), noting that 'Both the nose and the tilt of the head are there, although unfortunately the bodies which go with these heads have not been found'.

The recent finds of very similar figurines from Çine-Tepecik (Günel 2014a, 115, res. 8) raises the question as to how widespread such representations were in the Aegean and western Anatolian region and what meaning they held for their viewers or consumers in these widely separated areas (Fig. 28.10). The Çine-Tepecik figurine head was excavated in close proximity to two burials, one belonging to an adult female and another to a child (Günel 2014a, 114–15). The torso of a separate terracotta figurine was unearthed in close proximity (Günel 2014a, res. 9). The details of this body fragment are unfortunately not very clear from the surviving fragment, thus leaving uncertain the extent to which they comply with those of a 'Cycladic' figurine.

Both the Kephala and the Çine-Tepecik figurine heads have their noses emphasised, their heads are triangular and trapezoid, and tilted back. This posture of the head is a trait that is also observed in the Cycladic folded-arm figurines. Since there is a chronological gap between the Kephala heads and the production of Cycladic folded-arm figurines, the re-emergence of this form begs an explanation. The Çine-Tepecik figurine head partly fills the gap since it is dated to the early EB I period by its excavator (Günel, pers. Comm.; we thank Prof. Günel for this information) and may point to the continuity of a shared set of representations between the Cyclades and western Anatolia at the end of the Neolithic and beginning of the EBA.

In any discussion of possible foreign parallels to Cycladic folded-arm figurines, the silver and electrum Hasanoğlu figurine (Dolunay 1960; Tezcan 1960, pl. XXIV; Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 355 no. 507) has usually been alluded to (Canby 1965, 51; Renfrew 1967, 5; Renfrew 1969, 31). This figurine was brought to the Anatolian Civilisations Museum in Ankara in 1951 by villagers quarrying for stone (Dolunay 1960, 80–1). Additionally five pins, two of bronze and three of silver, were similarly acquired by the museum. Additional research at the site reported by the villagers yielded no evidence for a settlement in the area, suggesting that this assemblage probably belonged to a hoard or a destroyed tomb, although Dolunay considered the possibility of an open-air sanctuary, for which he could find no evidence (Dolunay 1960, 82) in view of the site being used as a stone quarry for years. The dating of the figurine itself is thus uncertain.

The folded arms of the Hasanoğlu figurine are even in the same position (left arm above the right), but the bracelets on the ankles, the crossed harness across the chest and a belt on the waist is seldom shown in Cycladic figurines. The comparison of the Hasanoğlu figurine to

the folded-arm figurines of the Cyclades is somewhat problematic since it is in itself unique in both its material and form in Anatolia for the EB III period. Some (Canby 1965) have even seen the Hasanoğlu figurine as having been inspired by – or produced in imitation of – the marble folded-arm figurines of the Cyclades, whereas Renfrew considered that such metal forms were being imitated in marble in the Aegean (Renfrew 1969, 31).

Is it really necessary to look for a single precedent or 'archetype' bearing all the details of the canonical folded-arm figurines of the Cyclades? This is most probably a futile exercise. The folded-arm figurines of the Cyclades, though they have a 'canonical' form (which most probably is a 'canon' imposed by modern researchers), have different manifestations with variations in their execution, details, and aesthetic quality.

The interaction between the Cycladic and western Anatolian cultures is well attested (Kouka 2013; Şahoğlu 2005; 2008; 2011a; Şahoğlu & Tuncel 2014; Sotirakopoulou 2008; Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2011b; Takaoğlu 2004). The 'Cycladic'-type cist-graves evidenced at Iasos (Pecorella 1984) are an extension of the dominance of the maritime routes by the Cycladic seafarers during the EB I–II periods, with other possible interaction points established in Crete like Aghia Photia and Poros Katsambas (Day 2004; Day *et al.* 1998). But the earliest attested interaction dates well before the beginning of the Bronze Age, with imported Melian obsidian being a common feature of western Anatolian sites from the Neolithic period onwards, lasting well into the EB I–II periods until the prevalence of true tin-bronzes in late EB II. Pottery imports or local imitations of Cycladic forms are also well-known from coastal Anatolian sites such as Liman Tepe and Bakla Tepe (Şahoğlu 2005; 2008; 2011b). The only true 'Cycladic' figurine from western Anatolia comes from Miletos (Kouka this volume), a site well-known for its connections to the wider Aegean world, as later evidenced through its Minoan and Mycenaean contacts. A group of 'Cycladic' figurines said to have been found in Cape Krio (Turkish Cape Deveboynu, at the tip of the Datça peninsula) were mentioned by Bent (1888, 82) but never published or seen by anyone else, and are believed to have been lost since then. The Cycladic presence or influence in southwestern Anatolia, as evidenced by the cemetery of Iasos, the Cycladic figurine from Miletos and the variety of Cycladic imports from Liman Tepe, renders Bent's report probable.

Folded-arm figurines once more

From our brief discussion of anthropomorphic figurines in the Aegean and western Anatolian regions, it is apparent that there was a set of shared representational forms in the Cyclades and in western Anatolia prior to (as well as during) the period of use of the folded-arm figurines. The question still remains as to what the dynamics of interaction or

influence behind the appearance of 'canonical' Cycladic figurines of the folded-arm type were, and if their manifestation in the Cyclades had any influences from the neighbouring regions or not.

We argue that although the details of representations do vary amongst the various regions within the wider Aegean world, these probably represent a shared set of beliefs and ideas manifested in different ways within a world that exchanged both means of cultural expression and materials.

The description of Renfrew, who classified them as 'the most important form among the Cycladic figurines, and the most numerous' more than four decades ago sums up their characteristics rather succinctly:

The head is tilted upward and backward on a short neck, with only the nose indicated among the facial features. Ears and eyes are not normally shown. The figurines are generally female, always naked. The arms are folded at the waist, nearly always right below left. Above them the two breasts are lightly indicated. There is sometimes a horizontal line at the waist, and the pubic triangle is often indicated by incision. The legs, always held together, are often slightly bent at the knees, and the feet (except in the Kapsala and Chalandriani varieties) are inclined so that the figure, if it was indeed imagined as upright, was standing on tiptoe. There is a marked lack of detail: often only fingers and toes are indicated by incisions, and details such as ankles, kneecaps, navel, ribs or hair are not shown. The back is extremely simple, with only an incised line for the backbone, and sometimes incisions behind the arms. All the figurines, including the several pregnant ones, are notably slim. In general the figurines are very graceful.

Renfrew 1969, 9–11.

The Aegean region has seen centres of influence that have continually shifted in time, the Cycladic, Anatolian (Kastri group/Lefkandi I), Minoan and Mycenaean cultures dominating at one time or the other. One of the earliest such centres of influence was the Cyclades, with its Melian sources of obsidian, whose importance as an item of exchange from the Mesolithic period onwards is well attested. On the other hand, (western) Anatolia had its metalliferous resources, which became increasingly important as metallurgical technology advanced and became more widespread from the late 4th millennium BC in Anatolia, most possibly spreading to the islands and beyond from here. Networks focusing on the exchange of raw materials also resulted in the exchange of ideas that included forms of representation.

As outlined above, shared features in terms of figurine production in Anatolia and the Cyclades cannot be overlooked, although each region probably interpreted such representational forms somewhat independently.

Conclusions

Although it has not been the intention of this paper to argue for an Anatolian origin for Cycladic figurines, the common traits shared between Anatolian and Cycladic figurines, most probably a result of the long-lasting interaction between the two regions, point to networks of ideological interaction beyond the exchange of raw materials.

It should be remembered that the investigation of western Anatolian prehistory (except Troy and a few other sites which have been scantily published in detail or excavated without modern standards applied to archaeological investigations) is a recent undertaking. Our understanding of what is purely Cycladic or Anatolian (the term 'purely' here is perhaps an unwarranted over-simplification when one considers the intensity of interaction between the various regions of the Aegean, resulting in common traits observed across the cultures of the region) rests merely on the chronology of discoveries or investigations, rather than the chronology of the cultures of the Aegean in general. In the present state of our knowledge, it is nearly impossible to detail 'origins'. Further discoveries will no doubt shed more light on the interpretation of such representations and their (re-) interpretation within or amongst different cultures which shared a long history of interaction.

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New Discoveries in the Cyclades

SCULPTURES FROM THE PAPAOIKONOMOU PROPERTY ON ANO KOUPHONISI

Irini Legaki, Colin Renfrew, Michael J. Boyd & Eugenia Orfanidou

Introduction

The marble sculptural fragments described below were recovered from the property of Michalis Papaoikonomou at 'Halasma', in the modern district of 'Loutra' on the southwest side of Ano Kouphonisi. The property is close to Pandelis Tsavaris' plot, where remains of a totally eroded EC settlement, two EC deposits, three pits with one secondary and one primary burial of the EBA and one cist grave with LH IIIA1 vessels were excavated some years ago by Philaniotou (2017). It is also close to two (out of the three) known EC cemeteries of Ano Kouphonisi excavated by Zapheirópoulou in 1969–70, in Eudokia Skopelitis' and Ioannis Tsavaris' plots at Epano Mylos and Parianos Kavos respectively (Zapheirópoulou 1970a, 428–9; 1970b, 49–50; 1971, 467; 1983, 81–7; 2008, 183–94).

Property of Michalis Papaoikonomou

The property of Michalis Papaoikonomou covers an area of 778 m². A rock formation at its southern part, running southwest to northeast, divides the plot into two unequal sectors (Figs 29.1–2).

The southern sector of the Papaoikonomou property

On the rocky southern sector (231 m²), which is at a higher level, no traces of floors, walls or other structures indicative of a possible settlement were found. However, two EC deposits were excavated with material relating mainly to habitation sites. More specifically, within an accumulation of stones (3.2 m × 2.0 m) and in the interior of an adjacent shallow pit (depth 0.20 m, diameter 0.70 m at the top and 0.46 m at the bottom) there were dozens of obsidian fragments in clusters, among them many blades, with concentrations of stone vessels and tools as well as numerous sherds, slipped and burnished, fairly typical for an FN – EC I–II assemblage (Grotta-Pelos and Kampos groups). It is noticeable that quite a few of the fragments have joins so they can be restored as complete (and some of them indeed large) jars and vessels, namely deep bowls, basins, pyxides, kandiles (one of them large with incised herringbone decoration), pithoid jars with vertical and horizontal handles (among them only one radiating slashed handle), cheese pots, and at least one frying pan with incised zig-zag and spiral decoration.



Figure 29.1 Plan of the excavations at the Papaoikonomou plot, Ano Kouphonisi.



Figure 29.2 Aerial view of the excavations at the Papaikonomou plot, Ano Kouphonisi.

The northern sector of the Papaoikonomou property

The much lower northern sector (547 m²) was covered by a well-preserved part of the large Late Roman settlement of Ano Kouphonisi, traces of which (mostly sherds and some meagre walls) have been identified over recent years in the area extending from the modern village to the Loutra district (Zapheirópoulou 1967, 466–7; Papangelópoulou 2008, 1117–20). In particular, two ‘quarters’, the ‘Northern Quarter’ and the ‘Southern Quarter’, are discernible on both sides of a rocky passage (‘road’), oriented east-west (width 1.7–2.2 m), running close to the northern border of Papaoikonomou plot (Figs 29.1–2).

The stratigraphy of the ‘northern sector’ is in general clear and bears similarities to that of the ‘southern sector’, since there are, as a rule, three levels (layers I to III). However, at the central and the western part of the sector, between layers II and III, there is a destruction level denoted ‘layer II/III’, while near the middle of the eastern boundary of the section there is another layer, overlying the natural rock, layer IV.

The surface level (layer I), 0.39–0.65 m thick, is disturbed. It is related to a modern wall (wall 46). The soil is brown to greyish-brown with many roots, gravel and modern material (*e.g.* bricks, plastics and rubble). Just below it, walls and floors of the LR settlement were uncovered in layers II and III. Layer II is 0.25–2.60 m thick with dark brown, compact soil containing a lot of gravel and some pebbles. Layer III is 0.65–1.34 m thick, brown to orange-brown, sandy, friable and loose soil with some gravel and clay flakes. In layer II/III (0.4–0.6 m thick, sandy, dark brown to grey soil with a few clay inclusions and gravel), the standing walls of the ‘Southern Quarter’ are found amid debris fallen from these and other, totally destroyed, LR structures. Layer IV (0.97–2.68 m thick) has no architectural remains, yet was, just like the upper layers, full of pottery sherds and other finds. The soil is brownish to grey, sandy and contains a few limestone impurities.

A preliminary study of the ceramics of the ‘northern sector’ showed that those found in the higher layers I–II date to historical times (mainly Late Roman), whereas those of the lower layers III and IV are mixed, containing sherds of the Late Roman period along with sherds of the Early and Late Bronze Age.

Many of the LBA sherds were found in association with walls of that period, mixed with material of the Late Roman settlement in layer III, and in a room (room 25) in the same layer, at the northeast border of the plot, which had one LC I amphora *in situ*. So it can be inferred that they establish the pre-existence, in the ‘northern sector’, of a LBA settlement above which the LR settlement was established.

Unlike the Late Bronze Age material, the numerous EBA sherds, as well as the other finds, including at least 38 stone and marble vessels and tools (axes, grindstones, palettes and mortars) as well as at least 180 obsidian blades, flakes and cores, are not related to any EBA building remains of the ‘northern sector’. The same applies to the marble sculptural fragments (numbers 1–8, below), found in different locations and layers of the Late Roman settlement. It could be assumed, therefore, that their horizontal and vertical dispersal may be due to the existence, in the ‘northern sector’, of original EBA deposits (like the ones found in the ‘southern sector’), later used in the Late Roman period to fill the space during the construction of the settlement, unless they were transferred as filling debris from nearby. On the other hand, if this explanation is challenged, one might ask whether they could constitute evidence for some kind of intentional deposition in later times, thereby raising issues concerning cult, symbolism, and the identity of EC figures occurring in later phases. It is also relevant to wonder whether their fragmentary state is accidental or the result of episodes of deliberate fragmentation, similar to those identified on Keros (Renfrew *et al.* 2015; 2018; Renfrew *et al.* this volume).

Catalogue

Each fragment is listed by its Naxos Museum catalogue number followed by its excavation number in parentheses. Heights of findspots are given above sea level. For the procedure in estimating the original height of fragmentary pieces see Renfrew (2018, 42).

1. NM14528 (A513) Torso of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 29.3).

Maximum preserved length: 90 mm.

Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis 84 mm.

Estimation of original height: 456 mm.

Broken at the neck. Broken between the left and right lower arms. Very heavily eroded at the front so that the arms and breasts are no longer preserved (one breast is faintly visible), and also at the rear so that none of the original surface is preserved. The right shoulder is preserved with part of the neck at the right, and the neck at the left is preserved, as well as the curved incised line at the base of the neck at the front and rear. The only other surface remaining is the lower part of the upper right arm at the back. It is no longer clear whether or not the spine was indicated.

The only appropriate dimension to estimate the original height is the width of the neck at the bottom of the neck, which is 43 mm. The comparandum is EAM6140.22 from Spedos. Using EAM6195, also from Spedos, as comparandum gives a larger height estimation of 520 mm.

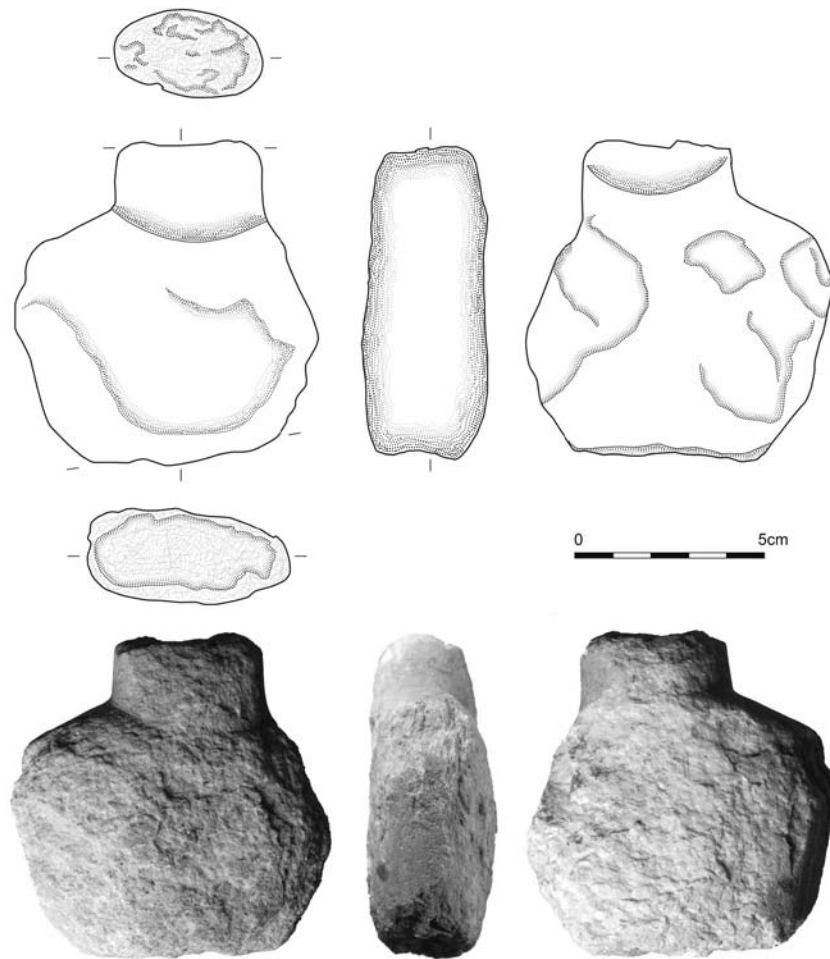


Figure 29.3 Torso of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (NM14528). Scale 1:2.

Findspot & context: east extension of trenches 4 and 8, at a height of 16.8 m ASL (*i.e.* at the same level and to the east of the modern wall 46). It was within surface layer I, which at that point lay between 17.1 m and 16.8 m ASL. Associated pottery: LR sherds with combed decoration. The pottery of the subsequent layers II (16.8 m to 16.3 m ASL at that point) and III (down to 16 m ASL stopping where medium-sized stones were discovered) is similar.

2. NM14530 (A523) Not a figurine (Fig. 29.4).

Maximum preserved length: 65 mm

We conclude that this is probably not a figurine fragment.

At the upper and lower break the surface is discoloured somewhat, being grey in colour, but the apparent crystalline structure in a strong light suggests that this may be of fine-grained marble. The smooth surfaces make this initially appear as a possible figurine fragment, but on closer examination this seems doubtful. For while this might at first resemble the waist of a folded-arm figure (below the arms and above the pelvis), or alternatively the body

of a schematic figurine, there is a slight protruding surface on one side, suggesting that this surface has not been deliberately polished or even smoothed.

Assuming that this is a figurine fragment, the maximum preserved vertical length would be 45 mm. The thickness at the lower break is 19 mm, and the width is 36 mm. The thickness at the upper break is 21 mm, and the width 43 mm.

It is not clear which side would be the front and which the back, and both sides show irregularities and small declivities, which would not be expected in a folded-arm figure, nor in a schematic figure. So although this piece looks at first sight like a figurine fragment, it is in fact difficult on closer inspection to see it as a fragment of any specific figurine category, nor does it appear to be a handle of a marble vessel, so we are unable to suggest any specific type of figurine of which this might be a fragment. We conclude that this is not part of a figurine, although it is possible that it may be of marble of a small-grain size.

Findspot & context: north part of trench 8. At the south of the LR wall 47 (Fig. 29.1). It was found during the washing of the pottery

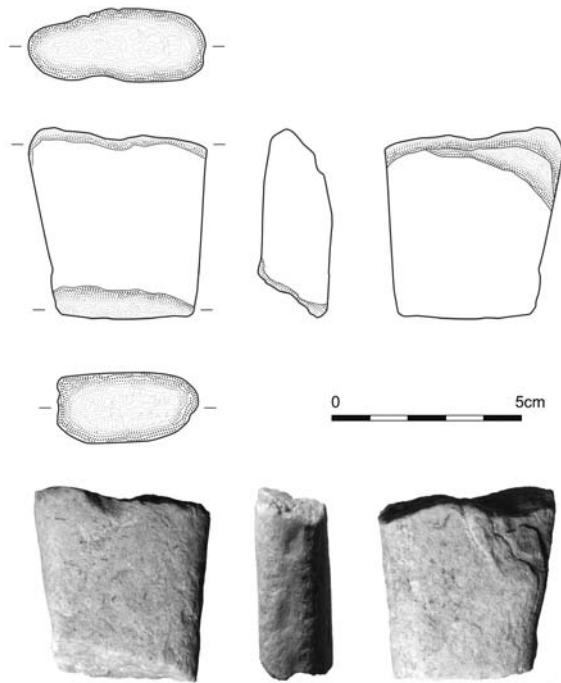


Figure 29.4 NM14530, probably not a figurine. Scale 1:2.

group of layer II at that point (height 15.6 m to 15.8 m ASL). Associated pottery and other finds (layer II): many non-diagnostic sherds of various historical periods (mostly Hellenistic), many LR sherds, a few legs of MBA-LBA tripod cooking pots, very few EBA sherds, two obsidian flakes, two clay weights, one clay lump. At the west side of trench 8, an early Late Cycladic room (see above; room 25, 1.7 m × 0.6 m, defined by walls 44, 11 & 12) was revealed: on a bench adjacent to wall 12, in the northern part of the room, amphora fragments dated to this period were found *in situ* at 14.9 m ASL. The ceramics of room 25 belong to layer III which, as with the overlying layer II, is mixed: many coarse non-diagnostic sherds, probably of the EBA, two sherds of the early LBA and one Proto-Geometric sherd. The same layer (III), outside room 25, also contained mixed ceramics: a few EBA sherds, two joining painted sherds and the upper part of an early Late Cycladic amphora (similar typologically, although of different clay, to that in room 25), as well as many sherds of historical times.

3. NM14529 (1433) Lower legs and feet of folded-arm figurine of *Spedos* variety (Fig. 29.5).

Maximum preserved length: 82 mm

Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 79 mm

Estimation of original height: 414 mm

Width at upper break 59 mm. Width at lower break 50 mm.

Robust in appearance. The feet are sheared off at the front of the lower leg, but the heels are well-preserved. There is an incision separating the lower leg from the left foot, and similarly for the right foot. The thickness at the upper break is 31 mm, and the thickness between frontal groove and rear groove between

the legs is 18 mm, so this is an unusually solid *Spedos*-variety figure, for the space between the grooves is usually much less. At the front, the groove between the legs at the upper break is 13 mm across, and 8 mm deep. At the back the groove is 9 mm across and 3 mm deep. This gives the impression of being a very solid sculpture, which must have been heavy, i.e. of considerable weight, in comparison with the slender sculptures of *Dokathismata* variety of comparable height.

For the height estimation comparison, the only relevant measure is the minimum width across the ankles, where the feet join the legs (i.e. at the grooves distinguishing the feet from the legs), 46 mm. The estimate was achieved using NM169 from Phiondas.

When comparing this piece with NM14532, the most striking difference is the thickness of the membrane between the front and back grooves at the upper break on the lower leg. For this piece this is very substantial, 18 mm, whereas on NM14532 the membrane is a mere 2 mm. It has not been easy to find a suitable comparandum piece, one difficulty being that even on the *Spedos* figurines for which good drawings exist, there is usually no section across the lower legs. In consequence, the size estimate of 414 mm for this piece seems very modest in comparison with the size estimate of 380 mm for NM14532.

Findspot & context: trench 1. At the southwestern part of the LR 'road', close to the LR wall 35 (Fig. 29.1) at 14.1 m ASL, i.e. 0.3 m higher than the natural rock and 0.2 m lower than wall 35. Within the mixed layer III, which contained many sherds of historical times, a vessel rim (perhaps Phylakopi I), a leg of a MBA-LBA tripod cooking vessel, and two Minoan sherds, as well as four partly preserved obsidian blades, fragment of a stone palette, part of an unrecognised stone item with a wide strip on one side, an obsidian flake, a small iron gobbet and a piece of clay 85 mm × 65 mm × 40 mm with possible wood or reed imprint.

4. NM14532 (1430) Feet and lower legs of folded-arm figurine of *Spedos* variety (Fig. 29.6).

Maximum preserved length: 57 mm

Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 38 mm

Estimation of original height: 380 mm

The width at the heels is 38 mm.

This is the lower legs and the feet of a folded-arm figure of *Spedos* variety, but the feet are broken at the front of the legs, so that only the flat heels of the two feet are well-preserved. The legs are separated by a groove of 12 mm in width; the depth of the groove is 9 mm at the front and 8 mm at the back. It is notable that the thickness of the membrane separating the front and back of the lower legs at the upper break is a mere 2 mm, whereas in NM14529 the comparable figure is 18 mm. This emphasises how very chunky NM14529 is. The preserved length of the left foot is 23 mm, but originally it must have been at least 28 mm. The lower leg is clearly separated from the foot by an inflexion, but there is no incision at the point of inflexion.

The only valid point of comparison for the original height estimation is the width immediately above the feet, where the legs are at their narrowest, which is 40 mm. The comparandum is EAM6140.22 from *Spedos*.

Findspot & context: between trenches 5 and 9. At the western part of the 'South Quarter'. Close to the LR walls 28 (14.4 m ASL at its

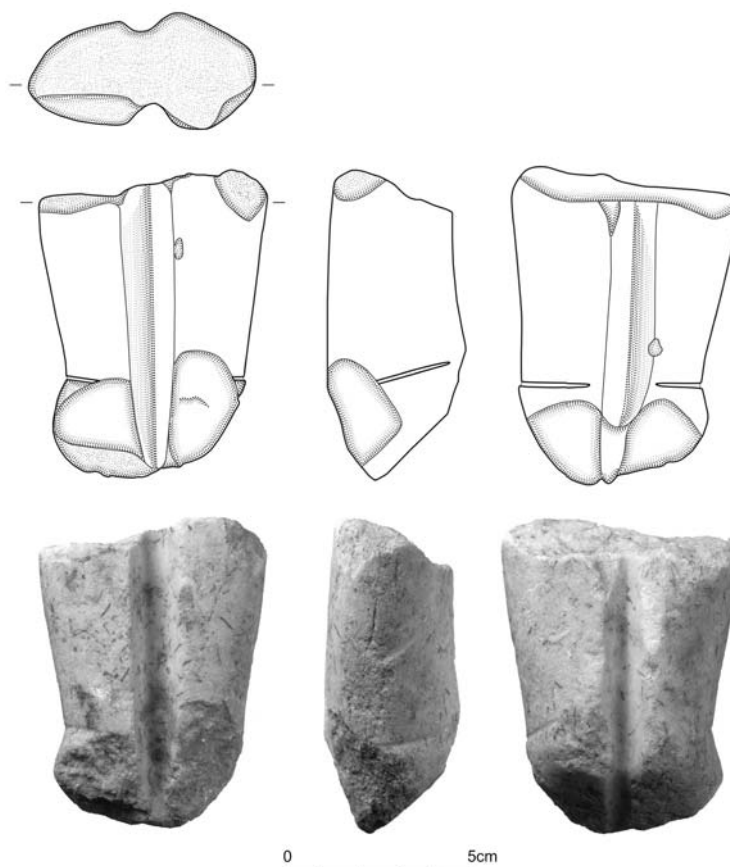


Figure 29.5 Lower legs and feet of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (NM14529). Scale 1:2.

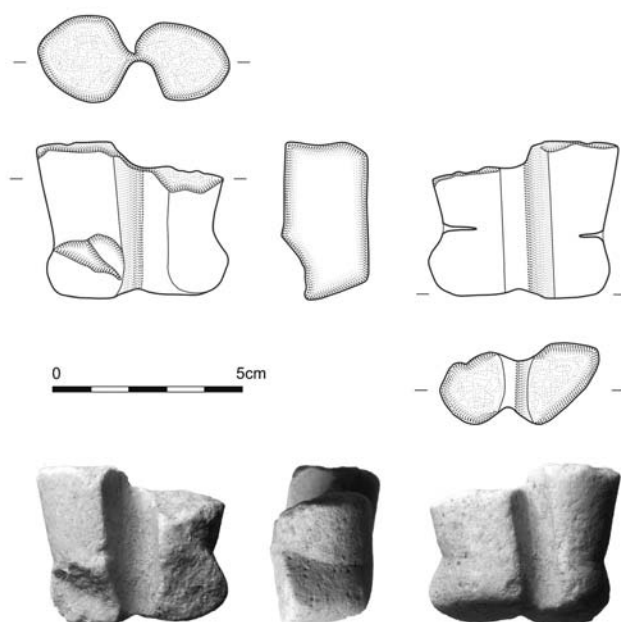


Figure 29.6 Feet and lower legs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (NM14532). Scale 1:2.

upper surface and 14.1 m ASL at its foundation), 30 (14.1 m ASL at its upper surface and 13.5 m ASL at its foundation) and 29 (14.3 m ASL at its upper surface and 13.6 m ASL at its foundation). A clay floor (0.15 m. thick), at 13.7 m ASL, is associated with walls 29 and 30. The figure was found quite close to wall 28, and at 14.05 m ASL, *i.e.* at the same foundation level as this wall. Within Layer II, which contained many sherds of coarse orange clay of the historical periods (some of them ribbed, fewer glazed and even smaller numbers with combed decoration), six obsidian flakes and eight fragmented obsidian blades. In the underlying layer III (between 14.00 m and 13.55 m ASL), on top of the natural rock, there were piles of stones and a series of stones with a possible semi-circular arrangement extending immediately north, at trench 5. The pottery of layer III belongs to historical times (mainly undecorated sherds of orange clay). There were also many non-diagnostic sherds, some of them burnt. Among the stones of the semi-circular 'structure' (trench 5), an iron nail, a fragmented obsidian blade and two obsidian flakes were collected.

5. NM14527 (A472) Torso of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 29.7).

Maximum preserved length: 125 mm

Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 114 mm

Estimation of original height: 529 mm

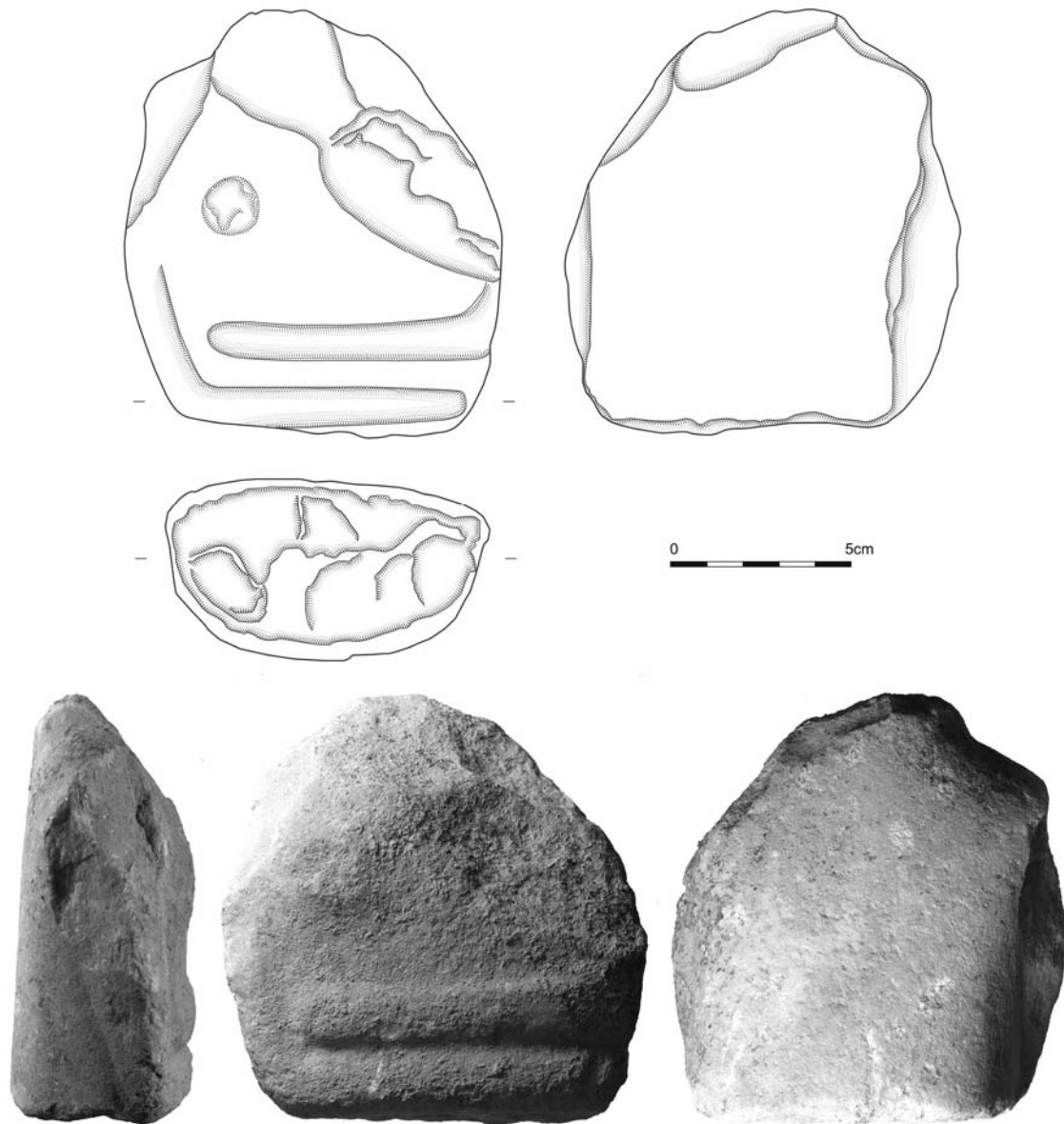


Figure 29.7 Torso of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (NM14527). Scale 1:2.

Broken below the right arm. The left shoulder and head are missing, and the right shoulder is broken. There is a trace of the upper right shoulder and adjoining fragment of neck preserved. The maximum width at the lower break is 85 mm. The maximum thickness at the lower break is 48 mm.

At the front the break is immediately below the right arm, with just a trace of the stomach area below the arm preserved. The lower right arm is preserved but damaged. The hand of the lower left arm, and much of the remaining lower arm, are preserved, but weathering makes it unclear whether the fingers of the left hand were indicated. A thickening for the right breast is very clear, but nothing remains of the left breast, and nothing is seen from the front of the shoulders.

Seen from the back, it is clear that the spine was not indicated, but the upper part of the left shoulder is clear, and just a part of the neck, where there is no groove separating neck from upper shoulder. The thickness at the lower break is considerable, so this is a substantial, chunky sculpture of the Spedos variety.

The best comparative measure for estimation of height may be the width across the lower right arm (this is a 'right below left' figure, as is usual). The width across the lower right arm at the front is 93 mm. The comparandum used is NM4181 from Keros. An alternative comparandum, EAM6195 from Spedos, gives a height estimate of 385 mm.

Findspot & context: trench 4. At the southern part of the northern 'boundary' of the LR 'road' (Fig. 29.1), at a height of 15.8 m ASL

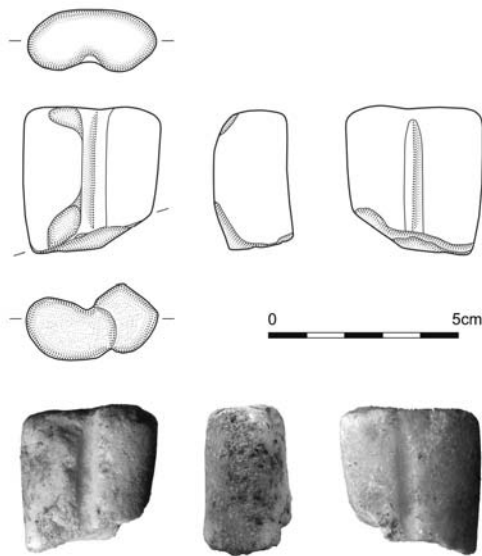


Figure 29.8 Lower (or possibly upper) legs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (NM14531). Scale 1:2.

within layer III, which contained many unpainted sherds of historical periods (made of orange, brown and grey clay), three fragments of LR lamps, a few ?EBA sherds (some burnt, most of them eroded), two obsidian flakes, one ?grindstone and one stone axe.

6. NM14531 (A1532) Lower (or possibly upper) legs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 29.8).

Maximum preserved length: 48 mm

Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 36 mm

Estimation of original height: 258 mm

This is a fragment of the upper or lower legs of a sculpture of Spedos variety. The thickness of the membrane separating the front from the back is substantial, 16 mm at one end and 18 mm at the other, leaving uncertainty as to whether this is from the upper or the lower leg, and indeed, which is the upper break, and which the lower break. There is no trace of the inflexion at the feet, nor of any increase in width indicating the pelvis. The legs are almost parallel-sided, although narrowing slightly toward the oblique break, leading to the conclusion that the perpendicular break is probably the upper break. Since in most sculptures of the Spedos variety the outer contour of the legs is parallel toward the pelvis, the likelihood is that these are indeed the lower legs. Assuming that the break perpendicular to the axis of the figure is the upper break (and the more oblique break the lower break), the width of the figure at the upper break is 34 mm, and the thickness at the upper break is 14 mm, whereas the width across the lower break is 30 mm and the thickness across the lower break is 15 mm. The groove at the front is 6 mm wide and 4 mm deep at the upper break, and again 6 mm wide and 4 mm deep at the lower break.

The groove at the back is shallow, 3 mm wide and up to 2 mm deep, shallower at the upper break.

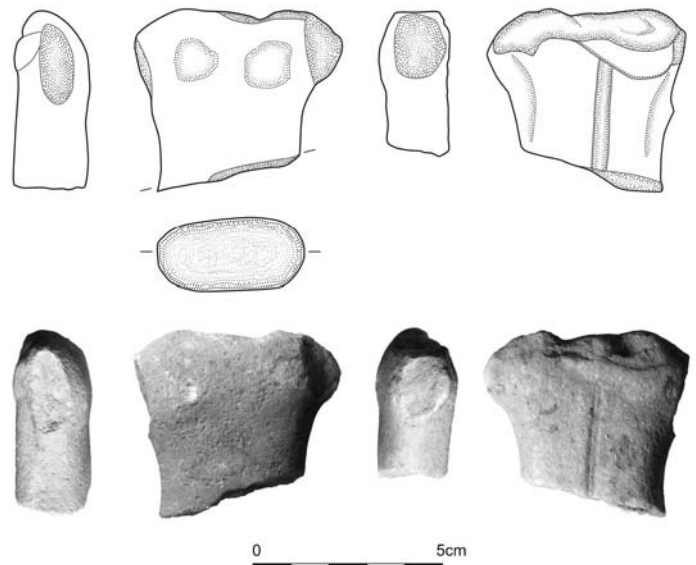


Figure 29.9 Torso of a standing figure related to the folded-arm figure series (NM14514). Scale 1:2.

Width at upper break 34 mm, used for the height estimation, with EAM6195 from Spedos as the comparandum.

Findspot & context: eastern extension of the southeast part of trench 4. It was found during the washing of the pottery group gathered from the area to the north and northeast of the modern wall 46 (Fig. 29.1). It belongs to the surface layer I (height at that point: 16.70 m to 16.55 m ASL), which included an obsidian flake and many non-diagnostic sherds of historical times made of orange, grey and brown clay, some with ribbed decoration. The underlying layer II (0.55 m thick) yielded similar pottery. In Layer III, which reached the natural rock at 15.45 m ASL, historical sherds were found along with prehistoric (a leg of a MBA-LBA tripod vessel; the rest non-diagnostic, many of them with traces of intense burning). Layers II-III did not contain special finds.

7. NM14514 (A151) Torso of a standing figure related to the folded-arm figure series (Fig. 29.9).

Maximum preserved length: 61 mm

Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 49 mm

Estimation of original height: 210 mm

Width at lower break at right angles to vertical axis 39 mm.

Minimum width 37 mm, 14 mm above break.

Torso and shoulders of a (presumably) standing figure related to the folded-arm figure series, particularly in respect of the back, which shows a vertical groove representing the spine, as with most folded-arm figures. In this case, however, the arms are not folded across the stomach, and indeed are not preserved, but broken at the left and right shoulder. There are therefore four breaks: one at the top where the neck (with head) and the left shoulder is lost; second the left upper arm is lost at the second break; third the right upper arm is broken at the shoulder, although the upper

portion of the right shoulder is partly preserved; fourth there is a break at the waist which is recognised by a slight widening of the fragment on the right side just above the lower break.

The front of the body shows a thickening of the torso from a thickness of 19 mm at the lower break to 21 mm at the right breast, which is indicated only by the thickening, and damaged by a slight abrasion. At the front, the top of the right shoulder is clearly seen.

The most striking feature of the sculpture is the traces at the back of a relief area rising 2 mm above the surface of the back which may represent what remains of the left upper arm of a companion figure standing to the right of the present one. There is damage to the right shoulder at the rear so this apparent upper arm is not well-preserved. However, it seems clear that this figure, presumably standing, was accompanied by a matching figure to its right, and it is possible that the right upper arm of this figure was aligned along the shoulders of the figure standing to its right, so that they may have appeared symmetrically arranged when seen from behind.

The break at the upper left, seen from the back, does not appear to show traces of the upper arm of a hypothetical standing figure to the left of the present piece, which would have allowed this one to be seen as the central member of a group of three standing figures. Indeed, there is no clear indication of any figure standing to the left of the present piece. This leaves open the question as to how the upper left arm of the present figure was positioned. One possibility to consider is that it might have descended vertically to an elbow, and then returned to cross the abdomen at the waist, leaving a gap between torso and upper arm, as occasionally seen in figures of the folded-arm variety (e.g. EAM6174: Papzoglou-Manioudaki 2017, 313–15). However, since the waist may be identified by the narrowing in the middle before the sculpture widens again below the waist, there is no sign of a lower arm crossing the body of this figure above the waist. That leaves open the positioning of the left arm of this figure. That a third figure to its left may have been represented seems possible. But since no trace of that hypothetical third figure can be discerned at the back (for instance, by traces of an arm comparable to that which indicates the figure to the right) it is possible that the left arm did not link with a hypothetical third figure but was differently positioned, conceivably coming forward, as do the arms of some seated figures, such as that of the harpist in the National Museum (EAM3908) or the seated cupbearer in the N.P. Goulandris Collection (GM286).

It would be helpful to look more closely at other double figures of marble, and indeed at single figures where the arm is shown coming forward from the body. These comparanda are discussed below.

It is difficult to assign a specific variety to this piece; however, the flat back may suggest the Spedos rather than Kapsala variety, and the modelling does not suggest the Dokathismata or Chalandriani varieties, so this piece possibly stands closest to the Spedos variety.

For size comparandum, since this is probably from a standing figure positioned on a stand, it may be appropriate to choose the Keros flautist as a comparandum, using the minimum width at waist of 37 mm as the point of comparison.

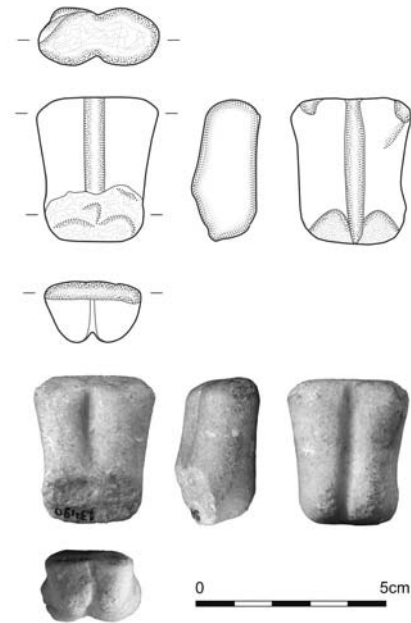


Figure 29.10 Lower part of folded-arm figurine of Spedos or Chalandriani variety (NM13490). Scale 1:2.

Findspot & context: northeast part of trench 4, close to the northern 'boundary' of the LR 'road' (Fig. 29.1). Layer II (16.12 m to 15.95 m ASL). Associated pottery and finds: LR sherds, animal bones, obsidian flakes and a bronze coin (for the subsequent layer III, see no. 5 above)

8. NM13490 (E1/2008) Lower part of folded-arm figurine of Spedos or Chalandriani variety (Fig. 29.10).

Maximum preserved length: 43 mm

Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 37 mm

Estimation of original height: 256 mm

The rather clumsy legs (which broaden toward the top) are divided at the front and rear by a shallow groove. The feet are damaged at the front, from the point where ankles would be to the toes, so the arrangement of the toes is not seen. At the rear the heels and soles are perfectly preserved and divided by continuation of the above mentioned groove. The absence of any pronounced separation of the feet as well as their inclination downwards, visible in profile, may suggest the Chalandriani variety, although the greater thickness would be consistent with the Spedos variety. The width is 31 mm at the upper break and 26 mm at the lower break. The thickness at the upper break is 14 mm and at the lower break 17.5 mm.

The width at the ankles, 27 mm, was used for the height estimation, with EAM5140.22 from Spedos as the comparandum. Findspot & context: eastern part of the 'South Quarter', close to the west side of the LR wall 9, and immediately south of the Late Cycladic room 25, at a height of 16.06 m. The heights of wall 9 are 15.94 m (upper surface) and 15.14 m (foundation level). Wall 45 (15.48 m ASL at the upper surface and 15.1 m ASL at foundation level) was unearthed later. Within layer III (lying over the rock at this point), which contained EC, LC and

LR sherds, many flakes of obsidian (partially preserved blades included) and a stone disc. The subsequent layer IV (15.2 m ASL to 14.85 m ASL at the bedrock), to the south in the neighbouring trench 12, yielded many non-diagnostic and non-datable fine and coarse-ware sherds, two fragmented yet complete EC cups and obsidian (core, blade and chip), as well as one stone object with a cavity at one end.

Discussion

These fragments, although not from a single consistent context of association, are of considerable interest since they were recovered in a secure archaeological excavation, so their authenticity is not in doubt. They are interesting also for their fragmentary condition, which resembles rather material from the two Special Deposits at Kavos, rather than many of the finds from the Cycladic cemeteries. On the other hand, their fragmentary condition may be the result of later breakages, since although they came originally from Early Cycladic contexts, they were ultimately recovered from contexts of the Roman period.

The most unusual piece is NM14514, which is apparently part of a double figure and consequently a very unusual find. Very few such figures are known from secure archaeological contexts, and so this particular find is a significant addition to that small group, even if in fragmentary condition.

This small cohort of known multiple figures falls into three groups (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 62–3): those set next to each other, with arms entwined, or sharing the same stand (Sotirakopoulou's 'horizontal' group); those set one above the other, where the feet of one are set on the head of another (Sotirakopoulou's 'vertical' group); and the unique 'mother and child', a fragmentary figure where the larger holds the smaller in front. Our piece falls into the first group, given the presence of the arm and elbow of a second figure on the shoulder.

Sotirakopoulou lists 13 members of her first group, known before the discovery of the present piece (2005, 62 and notes 340–5). Of these, five come from Keros, four from the Special Deposit North, and a fifth (NM4148) given to the Naxos Museum by Ioannis Simigdalas and said to come from the Kavos area on Keros. (A sixth is in the Goulandris Museum, GM984, formerly part of the Erlenmeyer Collection, probably looted from Keros; however, this piece is a fragment from waist to thighs and not certainly part of a multiple figure.) Only one of these, NM2235 discussed below, is a torso fragment comparable with NM14514: the others (except the Goulandris piece) are stands, all probably for double figures, but none actually preserving evidence for a second figure. The other members of this group comprise a torso fragment from

Aplomata, a torso fragment from Amorgos, and another in the Goulandris Museum (all discussed below). Two further torso fragments are without provenance (as is the piece in the Goulandris Museum): one in the Karlsruhe Museum (Karlsruhe 82/6; Hattler 2011, 295 no. 91), acquired in 1982 without provenance and of questionable authenticity; and one in a private collection (Getz-Gentle 2001, pl. 26d). The final members of Sotirakopoulou's first group are the group of three figures in the Karlsruhe Museum (Karlsruhe 77/59; Hattler 2011, 294 no. 90), and two small figures in chlorite schist of Koumasa variety sharing a stand but not having arms entwined (Sotirakopoulou & Gavalas 2017, 143–4). Since Sotirakopoulou published her list, a fragmentary possible double figure from the Special Deposit South at Kavos has been published (NM11639: Renfrew & Boyd 2018, fig. 3.146). This is unlike our piece in that the hand or arm of the putative second figure is not indicated on the back of the first.

Of these objects, seven offer some point of comparison with the Kouphonisi piece. The first comparandum comes from the Special Deposit North at Kavos on Keros (NM2235: Renfrew *et al.* forthcoming; Zapheirakopoulou 1968, 99–100). This is a fragment of the torso with the neck of a double figure, where the second figure stood to the right of the first, as in the Kouphonisi piece. The left hand of the second figure is shown at the neck of the first on the back, and so the arm of the second figure is close to the shoulders of the first. The left arm of the extant piece descends in the usual way, folded across the torso. Seen from the front, the left arm is indeed very clear, in contrast to the front of the Kouphonisi example, where there is no indication of the left arm folded across the front of the body.

A second comparandum from a documented context is the fragmentary double figure from grave 27 at Aplomata (NM6908; Doumas & Lambrinoudakis 2017, 209, fig. 15.29). This is similarly a torso and neck fragment, though the arrangement of the arms is quite different in this case. The comparison is interesting since the arm of the second standing figure, as seen on the back of the primary figure, is shown in a much lower position, crossing the back from the left, well below the right shoulder, with the fingers clearly delineated. (In the Aplomata example, the figure is the right figure of a matching pair, whereas in our case the figure could be regarded as the left figure of a matching pair.) The arms of the two figures are entwined in the space between them. The arm of the surviving figure goes behind the arm of the missing figure. The elbows are located between the two figures, rather than on the shoulders.

Very similar to the previous example is a third comparandum, without context but reputedly from Amorgos, now in the British Museum (British Museum A34 1884.1213.7: Bent 1884, 51, fig. 9; Pryce 1928, 13, fig. 12); this example seems rather clearly to be one element of a

double figure. Just as with the Aplomata piece, this is a torso and neck of the right of two figures, each placing its arm on the middle-lower back of the other. As with Aplomata, the elbows are between the two figures, and the surviving figure has its arm behind that of the missing figure.

A fourth comparandum is in the Goulandris Museum (GM330, illustrated in Renfrew 1991, fig. 62), although it does not come from a secure context. Here the rear view offers a close comparandum for the arm and hand of the companion figure, although in the Goulandris case, the companion figure stands to the left, whereas in the Kouphonisi example the companion figure stands to the right. In the Kouphonisi case, part of the arm of the companion figure, and the hand, are now lost, but the positioning is otherwise similar. The Goulandris piece lacks the flexion at the elbow clearly rendered on the Kouphonisi piece.

A fifth comparandum is of unknown provenance, now in the Karlsruhe Museum (Karlsruhe 82/6; Hattler 2011, 295 no. 91). In this case the hand of the companion figure, located in this case to the right of the extant piece, ends at the neck. The arm of the companion figure appears to be broken at the elbow.

A sixth comparandum, of unknown provenance and in a private collection (Getz-Gentle 2001, pl. 26d) is very fragmentary, preserving the left shoulder and arm and part of the torso. The fingers of the hand of the companion piece are preserved on the back below the level of the shoulder on the right side and so not extending across the whole back as on the Aplomata or Amorgos comparanda. This piece is closer to them, however, in having the hand well-below shoulder level.

The final comparandum is the group of three figures in Karlsruhe, again without provenance (Karlsruhe 77/59; Hattler 2011, 294 no. 90). Although this is not a close comparandum, the position of the hand and arms is similar, although the elbows on the long arms of the Karlsruhe piece are well clear of the torsos, whereas on the Kouphonisi piece the elbow of the companion piece is seen on the shoulder of the extant piece.

It is evident that, of the comparanda that may be assumed to be genuine, our piece is more like the one from the Special Deposit North on Keros than those from Aplomata or Amorgos, where the arms of the companion pieces are located much lower on the torso. To this 'arms on shoulders' group we may add the fourth, fifth and seventh comparanda above, all of whose authenticity is, however, open to question. The Kouphonisi piece differs from all the comparanda in the important point of its raised left arm. The comparanda mentioned so far all retain the canonical folded-arm position for the arm which is not reaching out to the second figure; *i.e.* the upper arm to the side of the

torso, and the lower arm across the waist. In our piece the left arm is apparently raised (although see discussion above, where a less-favoured possibility is to interpret the piece as the central figure of a group of three).

For the raised arm, one comparandum is the so-called flautist (or pipe-player) from Keros (EAM3910), which might compare well with the present piece, although of course with the flautist both arms are raised to the mouth of the pipe player. The Keros harpist (EAM3908) is a less-suitable comparandum, for although the arm is separated from the body to play the harp, the arm does descend somewhat, and so would leave a rather different break if detached. In this respect the cupbearer in the Goulandris Museum (GM286; Stampolidis *et al.* 2016, 200 no. 150; Getz-Preziosi 1987, fig. 33c; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 61) is also dissimilar from the Kouphonisi piece, where the left arm does not touch the torso; on the cupbearer, much of the upper part of the raised arm is in contact with the torso. Another comparison might be the seated figure from Aplomata (Marangou 1990, 155–6 no. 162; Getz-Preziosi 1987, pl. IIB; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 61–2). In this piece, although the arm is raised perpendicular to the torso, it nonetheless turns inward and is not so fully separated as the Kouphonisi piece. A final comparandum is the seated figure from Manika (Sapouna-Sakellarakis this volume, Figs 19.14, 19.15). The raised arm is here also turned inward so that the raised outer forearm is in line with the right side of the torso.

All of these comparanda are indeed not close: the left arm of the Kouphonisi piece was raised pointing away from the torso, not turning in towards it. In this respect the raised arm is similar to the arms held out toward companion pieces, and it is this fact that introduces the slight possibility that the Kouphonisi piece is the central piece of a group of three.

In conclusion therefore, we must accept that not enough of the Kouphonisi piece is preserved to be sure of the exact composition of the group and the exact gestures depicted. The composition and gestures must be unique among the surviving corpus of Cycladic sculpture, making this piece a quite exceptional find.

Acknowledgements

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Early Cycladic Sculpture in Perspective

EARLY CYCLADIC SCULPTURE BEYOND THE CYCLADES: THE AEGEAN CONTEXT

Marisa Marthari, Colin Renfrew and Michael J. Boyd

Introduction

As noted in the Introduction to this volume, marble sculptures of the Cycladic canonical folded-arm form are quite widely found outside the Cycladic Islands themselves. They are mainly found in contexts of the mature phase of the Aegean Early Bronze Age, the time of the Keros-Syros culture, and the form seems to have developed in the Cycladic Islands, where it is preceded both by the Plastiras type and the Louros type. As noted below the earliest (Kapsala) variety of the folded-arm figure is rare outside the Cyclades, but the Spedos variety does occur at a number of sites on the Greek mainland and Euboea, to which those examples found were presumably imported from the Cyclades. In addition, the Dokathismata variety occurs at Nea Styra on Euboea (Kosma this volume). Among the varieties of the folded-arm type only one, the Koumasa variety, seems to have been produced outside the Cyclades. The Koumasa variety is found exclusively on Crete, using marble of Cretan origin (Tambakopoulos & Maniatis 2017); no example of the Koumasa variety has so far been found outside Crete.

Finds of rather detailed representations of the human figure made of marble do occur in the Aegean region during the Neolithic period, but they are rare. The so-called 'fat lady' of Saliagos (Evans & Renfrew 1966; 1968) is a noted example, as is the standing figure found at Knossos in Crete

by John D. Evans (1964, fig. 63,15; Kanta & Kokosali 2017, 66–7). During the final Neolithic and the early phase of the Aegean Early Bronze Age marble sculptures, usually in fragmentary condition, are more commonly found, and they are usually schematic in form, although the term 'schematic' embraces a range of specific types.

Early Cycladic figurines in context in the Greek mainland with the off-shore islands, and eastern Aegean

The papers in this volume present Cycladic and Cycladic-type figurines found in individual sites in regions of the Greek mainland and the eastern Aegean (both north and south) during excavations, mainly rescue but also some systematic in nature, most of which are recent (see Fig. 1.1 in Chapter 1). They focus on the figurines' context and typology, but also define the character of each site and its regional setting, highlighting those features which relate them in one way or another to the Cyclades. Before the regional coverage of the Early Bronze Age material, F. Mavridis presents an overview of the mainland stone figurines of the Neolithic period. He points to similarities with Cycladic material, and presents figurines from sites in Attica, Euboea and Aetoloakarnania

(Fig. 1.1, sites 2a, 2b, 2c; Figs 2.3–2.6, 2.8). He links expanding horizons in the Aegean at the time with notions of identity at least partly expressed through figurine production, use and exchange.

Attica

It becomes clear through this volume that the largest number of Cycladic-type figurines found on the Greek mainland come from Attica and Euboea, areas with strong interconnections with the Cyclades during the Early Bronze Age.

Particularly with regard to Attica, the majority of the Cycladic-type figurines found there date to EH I (Grotta-Pelos culture) or the transitional EH I–II (Kampos group period). The sites that these early examples come from are distributed both in east and west Attica and are either coastal or anyway near the sea. The figurines are mainly schematic, of the spade and spatula types. Other varieties, however, such as the violin and bipartite varieties, as well as figurines of Louros type, also occur. All the early Cycladic-type Attic figurines were recovered in cemeteries, whether in tombs (Tsepi, Kato Souli, Kovatsi, Raphina, Loutsas, Asteria at Glyphada, Aghios Kosmas, Kephisos at Aegaleo), or outside but close to tombs (Aghios Kosmas), or deposits related to rituals taking place in the cemeteries (Tsepi and Asteria). They are made of marble except two, one of Louros type from Tsepi made of shell (Fig. 6.4), and another schematic from Kephisos made of limestone (Fig. 9.8). They do not bear facial or anatomical features apart from two, one from Aghios Kosmas with facial details (Fig. 4.1) and the limestone figurine from Kephisos in Aegaleo with rudimentary rendering of the pubic area (Fig. 9.8). The latter is the only one that also preserved traces of red colour.

The EH II figurines found in Attica are not many. They come from sites in all the zones of ancient Attica: coastal, both west and east (*Paralia*), inland (*Mesogaea*) and urban (*Asty*, the city of Athens). Most of the figurines are of folded-arm type and of Spedos variety. There is also a figurine of Dokathismata variety, and a few schematic figurines of Apeiranthos type. They were found in both burial (Aghios Kosmas, Mandra) and domestic (Koropi, Brauron) contexts as well in a disturbed layer (Nea Kephisia). They are all made of marble. Several preserve traces of red colour.

We shall mention first the sites with figurines dating to EH I and transitional EH I–II, second the site of Aghios Kosmas, the only one with figurines of both EH I and transitional EH I–II as well EH II, and third the sites with figurines dating to EH II.

At the important *Tsepi* cemetery at Marathon in eastern Attica (Fig. 1.1, site 6) five figurines of Cycladic type were excavated by S. Marinatos in the early 1970s (Marinatos 1970) and by M. Pantelidou Gofa in 1999–2000 (Pantelidou Gofa

2016), which all come from Later Chalcolithic or EH I secure contexts. M. Pantelidou Gofa presents these figurines in this volume. They include the lower part of a marble violin-shaped figurine (Fig. 6.5), three marble schematic, spade-shaped figurines (Figs 6.1–6.3), and a shell figurine of Louros type (Fig. 6.4). One of the spade-shaped figurines was found in Grave 19 and the violin-shaped figurine was revealed in the famous Deposit 39. Moreover, Pantelidou Gofa considers, based on the excavation notebook in conjunction with the museum catalogue, that the other three figurines, in all probability, also come from deposits (Pantelidou Gofa this volume). There are Cycladic parallels for all the Tsepi figurines, and, as far as the spade-shaped figurines are concerned, parallels are also marked in Attica.

Pantelidou Gofa also draws our attention to another spade-shaped figurine, apparently of EH I date, which was found in a destroyed grave in a rescue excavation by L. Siskou and M. Syrigou at *Kato Souli*, also in Marathon, a little further northeast from Tsepi (Pantelidou Gofa this volume). Furthermore, in the 1950s Theodoris brought to light by rescue excavations two more Cycladic-type figurines in two sites close to Marathon. He found a spade-shaped figurine in a grave at *Kovatsi* in Markopoulo, where he unearthed a cluster of tombs (Theodoris 1955, 286, fig. Γ.1; Marangou 1992, 99, fig. 68). He also revealed another schematic figurine in a grave that he excavated in *Raphina* (Theodoris 1955, 287, 292, fig. Γ.4).

M. Stathi brings a marble schematic figurine to our attention (Fig. 8.6), which came to light at *Loutsas*, a site on the east coast of Attica further south from Marathon (Fig. 1.1, site 8), in a rescue excavation that she conducted in 2009. The figurine was found in one of the two EH I graves excavated there along with two ceramic vessels and a bone palette. This shows more affinities to certain Cycladic figurines from Paros than to the other schematic figurines in Attica. The graves discovered, which are similar to those at Tsepi (ellipsoidal pits with walls lined with stones and a narrow entrance on their east side), apparently belonged to a wider cemetery possibly in association with the LN–EH I habitation deposits or EH I architectural remains, which came to light 650 m southwest and 600 m east of the graves respectively (Stathi this volume).

K. Kaza-Papageorgiou presents in detail six figurines of Cycladic type, which she excavated at the EH *Asteria*, *Glyfada* cemetery on the southwest coast of Attica (Fig. 1.1, site 12), and their contexts. The cemetery is located on a low hill in the southern edge of the coastal site and was initially revealed (late 1990s to early 2000s) by salvage excavations and later, from 2013 onwards, with a systematic excavation. It was encircled by a *peribolos* (enclosure) surrounding clusters of underground chamber tombs with *prothyra* (vestibules) for multiple burials, rich in grave goods, as well as a pit-deposit containing great numbers of ceramic

vessels (whole and fragmentary), and other artefacts apparently deposited in the framework of burial rituals. The figurines include four EH I schematic figurines found with pottery dating definitely before the appearance of characteristic EC II ceramic types. They are: two spade-type figurines from the same grave (Figs 12.8–12.9), two spatula-type figurines, one from a grave (Fig. 12.12) and the other from a pit-deposit (Fig. 12.6), and a miniature bipartite figurine also from the same pit-deposit (Fig. 12.13). Moreover, the fragmentary lower-half of a Louros-type figurine (Fig. 12.15) dating typologically to the transitional EH I–II period, came from an EH layer containing both EH I and EH II ceramics.

E. Asimakou publishes a limestone schematic, spade-shaped figurine (Figs 9.7–9.8) from *Kephisos in Aegaleo* (Fig. 1.1, site 9). It shows some affinities with the other spade-shaped figurines from Attica, which are all marble. This is a very special piece, however, in comparison to the other schematic Attic figurines since first, it is the only one made of limestone known to date, and second, the only one with rendering of anatomical details by incision, and other details by colour. More precisely, two incisions that form an obtuse angle on one side appear to indicate the pubic area. Furthermore, there are traces of red colour at the base of the neck on the other side, apparently the back. The figurine was found during recent rescue excavations along with two marble bowls, both with traces of red pigment in the interior, one marble trough-shaped palette, a pestle and two obsidian blades in a grave (Grave I) belonging to a group of four EH I rock-cut chamber tombs unearthed in two places on either side of Kephisos in Aegaleo (Asimakou this volume).

As mentioned above, *Aghios Kosmas* on the west coast of Attica (Fig. 1.1, site 4) is the only site that yielded Cycladic and Cycladic-type figurines of both EH I–transitional EH I–II (Grotta-Pelos culture and Kampos group periods) and EH II (Keros-Syros culture period). The figurines are presented in this volume by K. Kostanti and A. Christopoulou. They came to light during excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service under the direction of G.E. Mylonas in 1930, 1931 and 1951. The excavations revealed an EH settlement which provided one figurine, as well the associated cemetery with 32 graves, almost all with grave goods, which yielded the remaining seven figurines. Most of the figurines were found in the same area in the west part of the cemetery together with other Cycladic or Cycladising artefacts, including among others two chlorite-schist lentoid pyxides, and a ceramic pyxis with incised decoration, full of obsidian blades, chips and cores. In addition, a considerable number of Cycladic imports and Cycladic-type, locally made, objects from the cemetery in general show strong relations with the Cycladic islands, primarily in the Keros-Syros period (Kostanti & Christopoulou this volume). Aghios Kosmas is

the site in Attica with most figurines, eight in total. They are in chronological order as follows according to the authors: a) a schematic bipartite figurine, EH I (Fig. 4.9); b) a spade-type figurine, transitional EH I–II (Fig. 4.10); c) a schematic figurine, unique in form, which combines a body similar to the spade-shaped figurines and a head reminiscent of the Plastiras type, transitional EH I–II (Figs 4.1–4.2); d) the torso and legs of a Louros-type figurine, transitional EH/EC I–II (Fig. 4.6); e) two EC folded-arm figurines of Spedos variety (a torso with legs and a head), EH/EC II (Figs 4.3–4.5, 4.8); f) a head of Dokathismata variety, EH/EC II (Fig. 4.7); g) an unclassified figurine fragment, EH/EC I or II (Fig. 4.11). Traces of colour have been observed on the face and body of five of the figurines (Kostanti & Christopoulou this volume).

K. Papangeli brings to our attention a marble folded-arm figurine, possibly of the Keros variety, which has been neglected by recent researchers (Fig. 10.1). This was found in a tomb at *Mandra*, a village 4 km northwest of Eleusis in the north part of western Attika (Fig. 1.1, site 10), as Blinkenberg (1897) mentions based on information by Christos Tsountas and the first systematic excavator of Eleusis, Demetrios Filios. It is of importance that during recent salvage excavations at the midpoint between Eleusis and Mandra obsidian flakes and lumps of white clay (kaolin), both from Melos, were uncovered in a Neolithic and Early Helladic site, providing evidence for contacts between this area and the Cyclades (Papangeli this volume).

A fragment of an Early Cycladic folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (upper torso and lower part of the neck, Fig. 7.2), comes from *Brauron* on the eastern coast of Attica (Fig. 1.1, site 7). It was found in 1962 by Papadimitriou at the eastern foot of the acropolis of Brauron in the area of the Archaeological Museum foundations, in a disturbed layer. K. Kalogeropoulos, after a thorough examination of the available archive evidence and publications, suggests that the original location of the figurine should have actually been the north slope of the acropolis, where Theocharis located an EH settlement in 1950 and excavated there EH II pottery, mainly sauceboats, as well certain EC ceramics (Theocharis 1950, 188–91). The site is on a coastal plain, where cereals were cultivated in the Early Helladic period according to recent palynological analysis (Triantaphyllou *et al.* 2010), close to a metallurgical deposit, and near the large Brauron bay at the forefront of maritime communication with the Cyclades (Kalogeropoulos this volume).

Two marble Early Cycladic figurines, more precisely part of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 5.5) and a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type (Fig. 5.4) were found at *Koropi* in Mesogaea (inland zone; Fig. 1.1, site 5) during a rescue excavation by O. Kakavogianni. They come from Chamber III, one of the five chambers

revealed, together with some houses and a road outside the main prehistoric settlement, which was bounded by a fortification wall and a ditch. According to the author and excavator of the site these chambers were constructed for depositional purposes, and after use were filled with the rubbish of the settlement, mainly during the EH II period. However, unlike the other finds, the Cycladic figurines were not dumped, but had been placed on the north end of a low built bench, on the east side of Chamber III. The corresponding ceramic material, that of the first layer in the chamber fill, shows affinities to Cycladic pottery, in particular to that from Ayia Irini on Keos. This is dated to the very end of EH IIB, the floruit of the settlement, contemporary to the Keros-Syros culture in the Cyclades (Kakavogianni this volume).

Part of the lower body of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 11.3) came to light at *Nea Kephisia* (Fig. 1.1, site 11), also in inland Attica, in 2002 during salvage excavations by T. Georgousopoulou in the vicinity of a sanctuary of Dionysos and Aphrodite located there, in a Roman period layer. Some 200 m to the west of the sanctuary, on top of a hill overlooking the river Kephisos, two adjoining pits were unearthed, containing great amounts of pottery, both fragmented and complete vessels, dating from the early part of EH II. The author suggests that the original context of the displaced figurine would have been associated with one of these pits, the date of which suits the date of the figurine (Georgousopoulou this volume).

Last but not least is the torso of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 3.2), which was found on the south slope of the *Acropolis at Athens* (Fig. 1.1, site 3) during 1876–77 excavations undertaken by S. Koumanoudis. L. Papazoglou-Manioudaki, who presents the figurine in this volume, suggests that it was originally situated on the Acropolis plateau and may have been thrown away down the south slope during earlier cleaning operations. The figurine seems to be the largest and tallest Cycladic figure found in Attica until now, since its height is estimated to have originally reached at least 250 mm. It might well be a Cycladic import. The examination of the EH and EC pottery and other artefacts found on and around the Acropolis plateau show that a considerable settlement was located there during the EH period, which had cultural and trade contacts with the Cyclades (Papazoglou-Manioudaki this volume).

Euboea and Skyros

A site of particular interest for the presence and influence of Cycladic elements in Euboea is *Nea Styra* (Fig. 1.1, site 21), located at the entrance to the homonymous bay, facing Marathon in Attica. It is the southernmost location on Euboea and the closest to the Cyclades that has yielded figurines. Indeed, 19 marble folded arm figurines, more

than any other site in mainland Greece, were found there. Three of them are old chance finds, the findspots of which are unclear (Wolters 1891, 54–55) while the remaining 16 were recovered in an EBA cemetery during rescue excavations conducted by the Archaeological Service under the direction of M. Kosma in the late 2000s and in 2013. Kosma excavated three built shaft graves with multiple burials, along with an additional shaft without a grave on the Gissouri hill near the sea. A settlement to which the cemetery may have belonged has been also identified along the coast. The three figurines found at the end of the 19th century (Fig. 19.16) are marble folded-arm examples, possibly of Spedos variety (Sapouna-Sakellarakis this volume; Kosma this volume) judging from the descriptions and drawings (of only two of them) in the initial publication (Wolters 1891, 54–5). The 17 sculptures from the excavated graves include eight Cycladic marble folded-arm figurines of Spedos variety (Figs 21.11–18), seven Cycladic marble folded-arm figurines of Dokathismata variety (Figs 21.4–10) and the head of an unusually large schist figurine (Fig. 21.19). This last example has disc-like ears, is locally made, and has an estimated height about 925 mm (Kosma this volume). All the figurines were found in fragmentary condition. Most of them come from Grave 1. Beyond the large number of imported folded-arm figurines, other materials are also of particular interest: various other artefacts of Cycladic provenance were found in the graves (such as fragmentary marble bowls and pyxides, a fragment of marble palette and bone tubes). The construction of Grave 2 is reminiscent of the rock-cut tombs in the Cyclades, and Cycladic burial customs have been identified, including the intentional breakage of grave goods in Grave 1. These data lead to the conclusion that the New Styra site maintained closer links with the Cyclades in EBA II (Keros-Syros culture) than may be observed at other Greek mainland sites and off-shore islands.

Three coastal sites with Cycladic interconnections have been identified north of Nea Styra, between Nea Styra and Manika, in the wider area of Eretria. They are Amarnythos, Magoula and the Akropolis of Eretria. The first two came to light through rescue excavations by the Archaeological Service in the late 1990s and the third one in excavations of the Swiss Archaeological School in late 2000s. At Amarnythos, on the hill of Palaiochora, Cycladic pottery was found among the EH II finds, but no figurines. At the EH settlement of *Magoula*, a schematic figurine of the ‘Troy Type’ (Fig. 19.2) was recovered. The site also yielded part of a ‘frying pan’ and a hearth with stamped decoration. Finally, on the *Akropolis of Eretria* (Fig. 1.1, site 20) a folded-arm figurine (Fig. 19.17) was found in an unclear context (Sapouna-Sakellarakis this volume).

A significant number of figurines, 13 in total, come from *Manika* (Fig. 1.1, site 19), which lies in the middle of

the Euboean Gulf, close to and north of Chalkis. It is the most advantageous location on the large island of Euboea (second in size in the Aegean after Crete), combining the benefits of the narrow Euripus Strait, a major passage from the South to the North Aegean, with the extensive fertile plains of Psachna and the Lelantine plain. The site consists of an extended settlement and its associated rich cemetery. The settlement is the largest on EH Euboea and one of the largest in the EBA Aegean in general. Two of the figurines were found at the beginning of the 19th century by Tsountas and Papavasileiou. The remaining examples come from rescue excavations of the Archaeological Service by Sapouna-Sakellarakis (Sapouna-Sakellarakis this volume) and Sampson (Sampson this volume), mainly in the 1980s. At the Manika settlement only one schematic figurine of the 'Troy Type' (Fig. 19.1) was found. On the other hand, the Manika cemetery yielded 12 figurines as follows: a bone example close to the Louros type with relief eyes reminiscent of the Plastiras type (Fig. 19.3); two schematic figurines (Figs 19.4, 20.2); another schematic marble figurine with short legs (Fig. 19.5); a marble precanonical figurine (Fig. 19.11); three marble folded-arm figurines, two intact and one fragmentary, with no plastic details, thick legs and strong indigenous characteristics (Figs 19.6, 19.7 and 19.9); a marble headless folded-arm figurine with strong plasticity (Fig. 19.10); a head of a marble EC Spedos-variety figurine (Fig. 19.8); and two seated examples: a slender, marble figurine with the right arm projecting freely in order to hold something, probably of Cycladic manufacture (Figs 19.14–15), and another crude one, made of a 'greenish stone', obviously local (Figs 19.12–13; Sapouna-Sakellarakis this volume).

Figurines were also found on Skyros, an island to the east of Euboea, in a key position in the middle of the Aegean. The fortified harbour site at **Palamari** (Fig. 1.1, site 22), at the northern end of the island, was systematically excavated from 1981 until the early 2010s by M. Theodorakis and L. Parlama, and their collaborators E. Hatzipoulou, S. Bonatsos, C. Romanou, and Y. Manos. It is a major EBA settlement with continuous habitation from the EBA II to EBA III (and also MBA). This site, which enjoyed a wide network of relationships with mainland Greece, the islands of the northeastern Aegean, the Asia Minor littoral and the Cyclades, was certainly a great centre for the circulation of metals and other goods. The torso and arms of a marble Beycesultan-type figurine (Fig. 22.6) probably originating from Asia Minor and the head of an EC marble folded-arm figurine of Kapsala variety (Fig. 22.7) provide evidence that imports from various locations reached Palamari. The EC figurine was found in the eastern area of the settlement that has subsided, among the pebbles of the beach. Contacts with the Cyclades are further confirmed by a series of other imports, such as Melian obsidian, Cycladic pottery and

Cycladic stone vases (marble bowls and a pyxis; Parlama this volume).

Early Cycladic finds are not only found at Palamari but also at other Early Bronze Age sites on Skyros, including half of a schematic stone figurine of Cycladic type (Fig. 22.17), a surface find from **Atsitsa**, a coastal site in the northeast of the island (Parlama this volume).

Boeotia and Phthiotis

It is of great interest that in **Thebes** (Fig. 1.1, site 18), an inland site quite close to the coastal sites of Manika and Eretria on Euboea, a very special artefact, most likely of Cycladic origin, the head of a bone pin in the shape of a folded-arm figurine (Figs 18.1–18.2), was found, and published by E. Andrikou (Andrikou 1998; this volume). The position of the arms, the right forearm horizontal and the left forearm diagonally against the chest, shows that the figurine belongs to a postcanonical variety of the folded-arm type recently defined as the Keros variety (Renfrew 2018, 15–16). The piece was brought to light in the salvage excavation of an Early Helladic domestic area in the southeast sector of the Kadmeia hill in 1995. A bone pin with a head in the shape of a folded arm figurine was recently found in a rich grave of the Chalandriani cemetery on Syros (Marthari 2017, 305–07, fig. 20.15) together with two other bone pins, one of which has a head in the shape of a bird, while more such pins with bird-shaped heads came to light in the old excavations at the same site by C. Tsountas. Indeed, a bone pin with a bird-shaped head was also found in the Manika cemetery on Euboea (Andrikou this volume). Finding such distinctive pieces of jewellery of Cycladic character in the heart of Boeotia and in the middle of Euboea together with other elements shows the penetration of Early Cycladic objects and ideas quite far north on the Greek mainland.

This infiltration of Cycladic elements, however, becomes apparent even further north, at the **Proskynas** settlement (Fig. 1.1, site 23) in Phthiotis, more precisely in east Lokris, as a result of rescue excavations. The marble torso and thighs of a Louros-type figurine (Fig. 23.6) and the lower body and thighs of a second one (Fig. 23.11) come from there. Actually, it is the most northerly site in the Greek mainland to have yielded Cycladic figurines, and even then a settlement and not a cemetery as usual. Proskynas provides a significant coastal harbour with access to the North Euboean Gulf (with large buildings and communal open spaces, many imports, and a seal: Zahou this volume), and it could be a coincidence that no sites with Cycladic interconnections have hitherto been identified on the opposite coast of north Euboea. Indeed, it is a settlement of the transitional EH I–II that is contemporary to the Kampos group phase in the Cyclades, as shown by the figurines of Louros type and related pottery. The paradox

is that we know little for the chronologically relevant Cycladic settlements, and figurines of Louros type have only been found in cemeteries in the Cyclades until now. The Proskynas settlement continues into the subsequent EH II phase, contemporary with the Keros-Syros culture in the Cyclades, as evidenced by the pottery including numerous *urfirnis* and other sauceboats, as well as from a fragment of a Cycladic horizontal lug bowl (Fig. 23.8; Getz-Gentle 1996, 105–7). *Urfirnis* sauceboats occur in equally large quantities at the important EC II Cycladic settlements of Skarkos on Ios and Aghia Irini on Keos, where they are also used in communal drinking and feasting ceremonies in open spaces (Wilson 1999, 233, 235; Marthari 2008, 80–1; 2018, 184–5). The Proskynas marble bowl finds close parallels in secure EC II contexts at the Skarkos settlement (Marthari 2017, 135, fig. 12.9 top), the Aplomata cemetery (Doulas & Lambrinoudakis 2017, fig. 15.6 middle) and the Keros special deposits (Gavalas 2018, 299–302).

Peloponnese

EC or Cycladic-type figurines are rare on the Greek mainland outside Attica and Euboea. Yet there is a concentration of figurines along the eastern coast of the Peloponnese, in the southern Argolid in particular. This region had closer links with the Saronic Gulf and the Cyclades than the Argolic plain in the EH I–II period (Pullen 2013, 550; Kossyva this volume).

Two neighbouring EH habitation sites at **Delpriza** (Fig. 1.1, site 13) on the Hermionis peninsula, at Koilada Bay in the wider area of the Franchthi, yielded four Cycladic-style figurines. The Delpriza sites were revealed in recent rescue excavations of the Archaeological Service. A grave for multiple burials was recovered within the borders of each of them. At Bostani, the first of these sites dating from EH I–II, the grave was a pit dug in the bedrock with a *prothyron* at its eastern part. In the grave the skeletal remains of at least 30 deceased were accompanied among other artefacts by a marble figurine of Cycladic type (Fig. 13.8), pottery similar to that of the Kampos group and obsidian blades. At the second site, located on a nearby hill and dating to the late EH I and early EH II periods, the grave, a pit tomb with built walls and *prothyron*, was at the highest point of the hill. It contained the skeletal remains of 23 deceased along with three marble figurines of Cycladic type (Figs 13.19–21), two silver rings, a marble bowl, two marble pestles, a frying pan similar to those from Ano Kouphonisi, 11 obsidian blades and other grave goods. One of the figurines, the bowl and one of the pestles bear traces of red colour. All four figurines from Delpriza have affinities with the sculptures of Plastiras type. The finds show the close contacts of Delpriza to the Cyclades (Kossyva this volume).

Delpriza is reminiscent in some ways of certain EH I and transitional EH I–II sites with figurines in Attica. The remaining Cycladic and Cycladic-type figurines from the Peloponnese are isolated Cycladic marble folded-arm figurines found in EH settlements or deriving from later deposits. Nevertheless, it is of interest that three marble folded-arm figurines come from the Epidaurus area, oriented towards the Saronic Gulf and the Cyclades, each from a different site. A folded-arm figurine missing its head and legs, in form close to the Kapsala variety, was found during a rescue excavation at a notable EH II settlement at **Palaia Epidaurus**. The site is located to the west of the ancient city of Epidaurus, overlooking the Saronic Gulf. It provided three seals, EH pottery, and obsidian tools (Proskynitopoulou 2011, 148; Piteros this volume). A second fragmentary marble folded-arm figurine (mid-torso to knees; Fig. 15.2) was recovered at another EH settlement on the low hill of Koloti in **Upper Epidaurus**, found also during a rescue excavation in 1994 (Fig. 1.1, site 15; Piteros this volume). Finally, the head of a folded-arm figurine of Kapsala variety (Fig. 14.1) was uncovered in the sanctuary of **Apollo Maleatas** on Mount Kynortion, east of the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidaurus (Fig. 1.1, site 14) during the excavations of the University at Athens there in the 1970s. The last figurine was found in the ashes of the lower layer of the sanctuary altar, which were purely Mycenaean. Hence, it brings to mind the question of the presence of Early Cycladic figurines in later layers, which is noted in the Argolid as in the Cyclades (Marthari, Renfrew & Boyd 2017, 409–54). The figurine may have come from the EH settlement, which was situated on the top of the Maleatas hill, where later, from the Mycenaean period onwards, a sanctuary flourished. Connections of the EH Maleatas settlement with the Cyclades are confirmed by fragmentary ‘frying pans’ revealed in its ruins. There is also, however, the possibility that the head was deposited in the ashes of the altar as an offering by a visitor to the Mycenaean sanctuary, who might have found it accidentally or inherited it as an heirloom (Lambrinoudakis this volume).

Another EC figurine which comes from a later context was found in **Argos** (Fig. 1.1, site 16). A fragmented marble folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety (torso with arms and neck, Fig. 16.1) was placed as a burial offering inside a tomb dated to the Late Protogeometric as evidenced by the remaining objects deposited in it. The tomb was excavated in 1954 by the French School at Athens in the southern part of Argos. The Argos figurine is the only secure case of an EC marble figurine deliberately deposited in a much later context on the mainland. There is a possibility that the figurine reached the mainland and perhaps Argos, in the wider area of which EH habitation is attested, during the EH period (Pappi this volume).

Further inland, recent salvage excavations for the construction of the new Lefktro-Sparta highway provided one more EC figurine at a new EH site in **northern Lakedaemon** (Papadimitriou in press; Pappi this volume). Finally, a marble folded-arm figurine (Fig. 15.3) was found at **Neraida (Kokoletsi)**, in Elis, 9 km north of Ancient Olympia.

Eastern Aegean

When we turn to the East Aegean (Asia Minor littoral and off-shore islands), the situation with regard to the presence of folded-arm Cycladic and Cycladic-style figurines is very different compared to that in mainland Greece and the nearby islands, as well as Crete. In fact, only the head of a Cycladic folded-arm figurine of the Dokathismata variety derives from this region, from EBA **Miletus** (Kouka this volume, Fig. 27.2). Additionally, a few figurines deriving from unauthorised excavations in this area are also known. They include a violin-type figurine purchased by Zitelli, a dealer of antiquities, said to be from Kremasti on **Rhodes** (Fig. 1.1, site 26), in the Museum of Rhodes (Marketou this volume, Fig. 25.1; Hadji this volume, Figs 26.1–2), a figurine of the Dokathismata variety said to be from **Nisyros** (Rohde 1974, 152, pl. 9:1; Marketou this volume), now in the Berlin Antiquities Collection (*Berliner Antiken-Sammlung*), and a group of Cycladic figurines, including a seated one, said to have been found at **Cape Krios**, in the area of Ancient Knidos. The last were mentioned by Bent (Bent 1888, 82) but have since been lost.

As for the schematic figurines, exclusively diagnostic Cycladic types have not been identified in the East Aegean. In particular at the settlement of **Thermi** on Lesbos (Fig. 1.1, site 17), an island in the northeastern Aegean, excavated by the British School at Athens under the direction of W. Lamb between 1929 and 1933, schematic stone figurines (Figs 17.1–17.10) were found in the early phases (towns I–III). Some further finds were made during recent restoration work. Most of them are of Anatolian origin or combine Anatolian and Cycladic characteristics. However, some of the types such as the ‘Troy type’ and the pebble type occur also in the Cyclades and elsewhere in the Aegean. Nonetheless, relations between Thermi and the Cyclades are confirmed by some other imports (Figs 17.11–17.15), such as a ceramic ‘lamp’, certain bronze bird-headed pins, two celts made of emery and several fragmentary marble Cycladic bowls (Philaniotou this volume).

An EC II marble bowl (Fig. 25.5) was also found in a jar-burial at **Mesaria** on Kos (Fig. 1.1, site 25). The burial, thought to be part of an EB II cemetery, was recovered in a rescue excavation by the Archaeological Service in the 1990s. Apart from the marble bowl, a fragmentary but remarkable silver sauceboat with incised decoration

(Fig. 25.4), and a hoard of metal weapons and tools (a bronze rapier, a dagger, two chisels, an awl and a flat copper axe) were included in the grave goods of the burial. All these objects strongly suggest interconnections with the Cyclades (Marketou this volume).

In the Asia Minor littoral, the situation is quite similar to that of the neighbouring islands. Evidence of contacts with the Cyclades exists, but with the exception of Miletus, Cycladic figurines are not included among them. The excavations at **Liman Tepe** (Fig. 1, site 28a), a very important prehistoric fortified harbour site on the southern coast of the Gulf of Smyrna, carried out over the past twenty years by Ankara University, yielded a variety of Cycladic imports (Sahoğlu 2005; 2011a; 2011b). However, the only sculptures found there are the impressive stone phalloi with monkey heads (Fig. 28.8) recovered in an open courtyard, which was part of a central, possibly administrative or cultic, complex (Tuncel & Şahoğlu this volume). These phallus-shaped sculptures bring to mind the phallus motifs depicted in the rock art at the Final Neolithic Strofilas settlement on Andros (Televantou 2018, 391) and the pendants in the shape of phalloi found in the EC cemetery at Krassades on Antiparos (Rambach 2000, 42–3, pls 16, 6–8, 179.1: a, b, f). Therefore, it appears that certain symbols were shared on both sides of the Aegean.

The head with neck of a folded-arm figurine of the Dokathismata variety (Fig. 27.2) coming from **Miletus** (Fig. 1.1, site 27), mentioned above, was brought to light in the excavations of the German Archaeological Institute under the direction of B. Niemeier and W.-D. Niemeier in the area of the Athena Temple. As far as the context is concerned, this is another case of the re-contextualisation of an EC figurine, reminding us of those in the Cyclades themselves and the Peloponnese (see above). The figurine was excavated in an open, communal space laid with rounded limestones of the initial Middle Bronze Age (Miletus IIIa). A blade of Melian obsidian was also recovered very close to it. The MBA stone-covered open space succeeded an open space of the previous EB II late–III phase (Miletus IIc–d), in which four figurines of Anatolian types were concentrated in the same area, along with a big millstone. They were, according to R. Kouka, who presents the figurine, most likely ‘protagonists of specific symbolic-ritual actions’ and the re-contextualised Cycladic figurine may have been previously incorporated in local feasts, together with the Anatolian figurines, for its symbolic value. It is also suggested that ‘the final deposition of the imported Dokathismata marble figurine in the MBA context may indicate the sealing of the vanished past of the EBA ancestors’ (Kouka this volume), as also happened at the ‘Cenotaph Square’ of LC IA Akrotiri on Thera (Dumas 2008, 170–5, figs 17.14–15, 17.17).

Astypalaia and the Cyclades

Figurines were also found at **Vathy** on Astypalaia (Fig. 1.1, site 24), today part of the Dodecanese. As evidenced, however, by the excavation of the Archaeological Society conducted there under the direction of A. Vlachopoulos since 2011, the island actually participated in the Early Cycladic culture and was an integral part of the Early Cycladic world in the 3rd millennium BC, as can be seen in the excavation finds. The site is located on the north coast of the island controlling the narrow access from the open sea to the homonymous gulf. Rock-pecked images of large longboats have been identified there, similar to those on the ‘frying pans’ from Chalandriani. Representations of longboats, Cycladic-type daggers and spirals, as well other motifs alternate on the rocks at the pathways leading to the settlement’s entrances and on many other rocks (Vlachopoulos 2012, 119–21, pls. 92b–96; 2013, 217–19, 221, pls 123–6, 134–5; Vlachopoulos & Angelopoulou this volume). Of particular interest is the dense succession of human-made Π -shaped constructions along the north and the east rocky coast of the promontory, where both burial and household activity has been noted. From this area, the pottery of which is dated to the latest Neolithic or Early Bronze Age I, come an intact schematic violin-shaped figurine (Fig. 24.4) and a second possible schematic figurine (‘pestle-shaped’) from the same area (Fig. 24.5). In addition, the lower half of a schematic violin-shaped marble figurine (Fig. 24.2) is a surface find collected by C. Doumas in 2008 (Vlachopoulos & Angelopoulou this volume).

Also from **Loutra, Ano Kouphonisi** (Fig. 1.1, site 29) in the Cyclades, Legaki and colleagues present seven newly discovered figurine fragments from Roman contexts overlying heavily damaged EC layers (Figs 29.3, 29.5–10). It is unclear whether these fragments were merely disturbed during Roman building activity, or if they were perhaps rediscovered and reused during this period. They are similar in character to the material from the nearby Keros Special Deposits, and one piece in particular is unique, being part of a composite group (of two or possibly three individuals) while at the same time probably raising one arm, perhaps in a toasting action (Fig. 29.9). The fragment is too damaged to be clear about its exact pose, but it adds to our limited corpus of composite and action figures from archaeological contexts.

Findspots and distribution patterns

The three volumes that have arisen from the symposia held in 2014 and 2015 (Marthari *et al.* 2017; Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2017; this volume) have collected data on 1394 figurines or figurine fragments from known

archaeological contexts (certain material published in these volumes, such as figurines made of clay, or likely to have post-dated the Early Bronze Age, are omitted from this figure and the tables presented here). These 1394 figurines are tabulated in Tables 30.1–30.4, showing both the type of findspot and distinguishing between folded-arm figurines, schematic figurines, and other types of figurine, and whether fragmented or not.

Table 30.2 is based upon the contents of *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context* (Marthari *et al.* 2017) as well as Chapter 29 of the present volume, and material from Keros (Renfrew & Boyd 2018; Renfrew *et al.* forthcoming). Table 30.2 excludes the material published by Sotirakopoulou (2005) and regarded by her as almost certainly originating in the Special Deposit North at Kavos on Keros. This material, if included, would contribute a further 143 fragmentary folded-arm figurines, with one intact schematic figurine and four fragmentary pieces falling under the ‘other’ category (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 92–175). Other material from the Cyclades not published in *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context* is not listed in the table. For instance, material from the early excavations of Tsountas and Stephanos, which is not dealt with completely in *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context*, does not occur in Table 30.2 (although some material from their excavations is included).

Although Cycladic figurines have in the past been imagined as found predominantly in graves, one basic result of the excavations on Keros has been to change our expectations of where deliberate deposition of figurines might take place in Early Bronze Age times. The Keros deposits (875 items) account for 73% of the figurines from the Cyclades listed in Table 30.2 (62% of the material from the Aegean as a whole). Beyond Keros, several intriguing deposits on Ano Kouphonisi might also be regarded as ‘special’, though none is directly comparable to those on Keros. The figurines from the Tsavaris plot on Kouphonisi (Philaniotou 2017) are part of such a deposit. Some of the material recovered from the Alonistria Chousouri deposit (Gavalas 2017) might also have come from deliberate deposition outside of graves; however, in this case the close association with funerary activities suggests we should consider these figurines in a cemetery context.

Deposition in a ‘special deposit’ is rather more frequent than deposition in a cemetery context (only 13% of the material from the Cyclades comes from a cemetery, or 20% from the Aegean as a whole). Special deposits are also very concentrated on the area of Keros and Kouphonisi, whereas deposition in cemeteries occurs more widely in the Cyclades and beyond. Deposition in a ‘special deposit’ is also much more frequent than recovery from a settlement context (8% of the material from the Cyclades, and also 8% from the Aegean as a whole). The remaining examples come

Table 30.1 Intact and fragmentary figurines from contexts discussed in this volume (except the material presented in Chapter 29, for which see Table 30.2). Note: where a figurine has been repaired by joining two fragments, this is listed as 'intact'; where only a small part is missing, this is also classed as 'intact'.

Findspot	Locale	Intact folded-arm	Intact schematic	Intact other	Fragmentary folded-arm	Fragmentary schematic	Fragmentary other
Upper Epidaurus	Settlement	0	0	0	0	0	1
Kadmeia, Thebes	Settlement	0	0	0	1 (bone pin head)	0	0
Proskynas	Settlement	0	0	0	0	0	2
Miletus	Settlement	0	3	0	1	3	0
Manika	Settlement	0	1	0	0	0	0
Eretria	Settlement	0	1	0	0	0	0
Aghios Kosmas, Attica	Settlement	0	0	0	0	1	0
Aghios Kosmas, Attica	Cemetery	0	3	0	3	0	1
Tsepi	Cemetery	0	3	1	0	1	0
Loutsa	Cemetery	0	1	0	0	0	0
Aegaleo	Cemetery	0	1	0	0	0	0
Mandra	Cemetery	1	0	0	0	0	0
Asteria	Cemetery	0	5	0	0	0	1
Delpriza	Cemetery	0	0	3	0	0	1
Manika	Cemetery	2	3	1	4	0	2
Nea Styra	Cemetery	0	0	0	15	0	1
Vathy	Cemetery	0	1	0	0	1	0
Koropi	Deposit	0	1	0	1	0	0
Brauron	Disturbed layers	0	0	0	1	0	0
Nea Kephisia	Later layers	0	0	0	1	0	0
Epidaurus	Later layers	0	0	0	1	0	0
Argos	Later grave	0	0	0	1	0	0
Acropolis, Athens	Unknown	0	0	0	1	0	0
Eretria	Unknown	0	0	0	1	0	0

mainly from later layers, and thus their original deposition locale (whether cemetery, settlement or 'deposit') cannot be assessed.

On Crete we lack any 'special deposits' containing figurines. Note that here we include all the figurines from Archanes in the cemetery category. However, one could sub-divide this assemblage. Seventeen of the 34 figurines come from tombs (15 from tholos tomb C, one from tholos tomb E, and one from Burial Building 7), while 17 come from outside the tombs: 16 from the Area of the Rocks, and one from west of Funerary Buildings 18 and 19 (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2018). Since, as at Alonistria Chousouri on Kouphonisi, these areas are adjacent to tombs, it seems better to associate these deposits, which include material other than figurines,

with funerary activity; however, they could be seen as in some ways analogous to the 'special deposits' of the central Cyclades. In particular, 16 of the 17 figurines found outside tombs are fragmentary (and the intact one is a schematic example less than 50 mm in height; one fragmentary example lacks only head and feet). However, fragmentary material predominates in the tombs as well (five intact figurines and 12 fragmentary).

Similarly on the mainland, figurines from 'special deposits' are rare. At Tsepi, only one of the five figurines was found in a grave. The other four were found in probable or certain 'deposit' contexts. These deposits are situated within the cemetery, however, and, like the Archanes and Kouphonisi examples above, seem related to funerary activity, and so have been listed as 'cemetery' deposits in

Table 30.2 Intact and fragmentary figurines from contexts in the Cyclades. Only material presented in Marthari et al. (2017) is listed, with the addition of the complete material from Keros conserved in the Naxos Museum, and the material presented in Chapter 29 of the present volume. Note: where a figurine has been repaired by joining two fragments, this is listed as ‘intact’; where only a small part is missing, this is also classed as ‘intact’.

Findspot	Locale	Intact folded-arm	Intact schematic	Intact other	Fragmentary folded-arm	Fragmentary schematic	Fragmentary other
Ayia Irini, Kea	Settlement	0	0	0	17	5	3
Plakalona, Seriphos	Settlement	0	0	0	1	0	0
Akrotiraki, Siphnos	Settlement	0	1	0	1	1	2
Skarkos, Ios	Settlement	0	32	1	2	16	0
Dhaskalio, Keros	Settlement	0	7	0	0	4	1
Akrotiri, Naxos	Cemetery	0	6	3	0	0	1
Glypha, Paros	Cemetery	0	3	0	0	1	0
Panayia, Paros	Cemetery	0	1	0	0	0	0
Pyrgos, Paros	Cemetery	0	16	0	0	1	0
Krassades, Antiparos	Cemetery	0	15	0	0	0	0
Livadhi, Dhesispotiko	Cemetery	0	5	0	0	0	0
Zoumbaria, Dhesispotiko	Cemetery	0	6	0	0	0	0
Akrotiraki, Siphnos	Cemetery	0	2	0	1	2	1
Louros, Naxos	Cemetery	0	0	7	0	0	0
Mersinia, Kythnos	Cemetery	0	1	0	0	0	0
Aplomata, Naxos	Cemetery	7	2	3	8	0	3
Phiondas, Naxos	Cemetery	5	0	0	2	0	0
Aghioi Anargyroi, Naxos	Cemetery	1	0	0	0	0	0
Avdeli, Naxos	Cemetery	0	0	0	2	0	0
Tsikniades, Naxos	Cemetery	0	3	1	1	4	2
Agrilia, Ano Kouphonisi	Cemetery	0	0	1	0	0	1
Chalandriani, Syros	Cemetery	10	10	1 (bone pin head)	0	0	0
Alonistria Chousouri, Ano Kouphonisi	Cemetery	2	0	0	12	1	1
Tsavaris, Kouphonisi	Deposit	0	1	0	5	1	2
Keros, Special Deposit North	Deposit	2	1	0	215	24	16
Keros, Special Deposit South	Deposit	0	1	0	508	40	12
Keros, Kavos (not Special Deposits, or findspot unknown)	Deposit (secondary position?)	0	1	0	48	2	5
Keros, not Kavos	Surface finds	0	1	0	7	2	0
Koukounaries, Paros	Later contexts	0	1	0	1	1	4
Phylakopi, Melos	Later contexts	0	3	0	5	5	1
Akrotiri, Thira	Later contexts	1	15	3	2	9	6
Kouphonisi Papaoikonomou	Later contexts	0	0	0	6	0	1

Table 30.3 Intact and fragmentary figurines from contexts in Crete (Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2017). The Koumasa variety of the folded-arm figurine is shown in brackets. Note: where a figurine has been repaired by joining two fragments, this is listed as 'intact'; where only a small part is missing, this is also classed as 'intact'.

Findspot	Locale	Intact folded-arm	Intact schematic	Intact other	Fragmentary folded-arm	Fragmentary schematic	Fragmentary other
Gerani	Settlement	0	3	1	0	0	0
Vasiliki	Settlement	0	0	0	1 (1)	0	0
Archanes	Cemetery	4 (2)	1	1	24 (1)	2	2
Kyparissi Temenous	Cemetery	2 (2)	1	0	2 (2)	0	0
Pyrgos	Cemetery	1 (1)	7	0	0	0	0
Platanos	Cemetery	1 (1)	1	2	0	0	0
Koumasa	Cemetery	3 (2)	0	0	7 (5)	0	0
Kalokampo Tripitis	Cemetery	0	0	0	1 (0)	0	0
Lebena Gerokampos	Cemetery	1 (1)	2	0	0	1	0
Lebena Papoura	Cemetery	2 (1)	0	0	0	0	0
Lebena Zervou	Cemetery	1 (1)	0	0	0	0	0
Platyvola	Cemetery	0	0	0	1 (1)	0	0
Petras	Later and surface contexts	0	4	0	7 (3)	0	0
Zakro	Later contexts	0	1	0	0	1	0
Pera Galini	Later contexts	0	1	0	0	0	0
Eleftherna	Later contexts	0	0	0	3 (2?)	0	0
Knossos	Unknown	0	0	0	2 (0)	0	0
Aghios Onouphrios	Unknown	0	2	3	3 (0)	0	1
Tekes	Unknown	2 (2)	0	1	3 (0)	0	1

Table 30.1. Somewhat similarly, at Aghios Kosmas, most of the figurines were found outside the graves, though very close to them. At Asteria, three figurines were found in graves, but the other three were outside graves: two from a 'deposit' similar to those at Tsepi, and the last from a location close to graves. As with Tsepi, these deposits have been classified here as funerary in nature. Only the two figurines from Koropi seem definitely to come from a 'deposit' context not clearly funerary in nature. Overall, these potential examples from the mainland of 'deposits' seem quite different from the special deposits of Keros and the related deposits on Kouphonisi, not least in usually being closely associated with graves, and also in containing fewer figurines not placed in concentrated depositions. Nonetheless, they point to an interesting type of depositional activity, related to funerary rituals, which is not as yet clearly demonstrated in the Cyclades.

In Crete only five figurines from a total of 110 (just under 5%) come from settlement contexts. This means that 70 come from cemetery contexts (64%), the remainder (35 figurines, or 32%) come from later or unknown contexts. Similarly, elsewhere in the Aegean, in the areas considered in the

present volume, 14 figurines come from settlement contexts (about 18%), while 55 come from cemetery contexts (71%). Six come from later contexts and just two, the figurines from Koropi, came from a context perhaps analogous to the special deposits found in the central Cyclades, as discussed above. Hence the deposition pattern in Crete, the mainland, and other Aegean islands beyond the Cyclades is similar.

This pattern seems not to be replicated in the Cyclades, however. If we exclude the 'special deposits' from consideration for a moment, in the Cyclades some 94 figurines come from settlements, while 155 come from cemetery contexts, with 74 originating in later or surface layers. These figures equate to 29% settlement, 48 per cent cemetery and 23 per cent later or surface layers (excluding the special deposits). This pattern differs from that found outside the Cyclades. However, while figurines are found widely distributed in cemetery deposits in the Cyclades, those from settlements are in fact quite concentrated, with a few settlements recording relatively high numbers, with Skarkos on Ios and Ayia Irini on Kea accounting for 76 of the 94 figurines from settlements, and Dhaskalio on Keros accounting for a further 12.

Table 30.4 Summary data for intact and fragmentary figurines of folded-arm, schematic and other types from the Cyclades, Crete, and the rest of the Aegean. Note: where a figurine has been repaired by joining two fragments, this is listed as 'intact'; where only a small part is missing, this is also classed as 'intact'.

		Folded-arm	Schematic	Other	Total	
CYCLADES						
Settlements	Intact	0	40	1	41	94
	<i>Fragmentary</i>	21	26	6	53	
Cemeteries	Intact	25	70	16	111	155
	<i>Fragmentary</i>	26	9	9	44	
'Deposits'	Intact	2	4	0	6	884
	<i>Fragmentary</i>	776	67	35	878	
Later and surface contexts	Intact	1	20	3	24	74
	<i>Fragmentary</i>	21	17	12	50	
Total		872	253	82		1207
MAINLAND GREECE, NORTH AND EAST AEGEAN						
Settlements	Intact	0	5	0	5	14
	<i>Fragmentary</i>	2	4	3	9	
Cemeteries	Intact	3	17	5	25	55
	<i>Fragmentary</i>	22	2	6	30	
'Deposits'	Intact	0	1	0	1	2
	<i>Fragmentary</i>	1	0	0	1	
Later and other contexts	Intact	0	0	0	0	6
	<i>Fragmentary</i>	6	0	0	6	
Total		34	29	14		77
CRETE						
Settlements	Intact	0	3	1	4	5
	<i>Fragmentary</i>	1	0	0	1	
Cemeteries	Intact	15	12	3	30	70
	<i>Fragmentary</i>	35	3	2	40	
Later and other contexts	Intact	2	8	4	14	35
	<i>Fragmentary</i>	18	1	2	21	
Total		71	27	12		110
TOTALS						
Settlements	Intact	0	48	2	50	113
	<i>Fragmentary</i>	24	30	9	63	
Cemeteries	Intact	43	99	24	166	280
	<i>Fragmentary</i>	83	14	17	114	
'Deposits'	Intact	2	5	0	7	886
	<i>Fragmentary</i>	777	67	35	879	
Later and surface contexts	Intact	3	28	7	38	115
	<i>Fragmentary</i>	45	18	14	77	
Total		977	309	108		1394

It is also quite telling to compare the schematic with the folded-arm type. In Cycladic settlements, only 21 of the 94 figurines are of folded-arm type, while 66 are schematic, and 7 are of other types. In the Cycladic cemeteries, 51 are folded-arm, 79 are schematic, and 25 of other type. However, many of the schematic figurines from cemeteries are from EC I graves, whereas the folded-arm figurines come mainly from EC II contexts, so there is a clear chronological difference. In the special deposits on Kouphonisi and Keros, 778 figurines are of folded-arm type, while just 71 are schematic, and 35 of other type. Hence there is a very clear preference for folded-arm figurines in special deposits, while graves and settlement contexts are much more likely to contain schematic figurines.

Fragmentation and deposition

It is also interesting to consider the issue of fragmentation. The fragmentation of Cycladic figurines, along with marble vessels, and ceramic items such as sauceboats and conical necked jars, has been brought to the fore by the results of the excavations on Keros. There it has been conclusively demonstrated that this fragmentation took place elsewhere, prior to deposition at Kavos (Renfrew 2015). This raises the question of just where this fragmentation took place. Surveys on Keros, southeast Naxos and Kato Kouphonisi have not located places where this fragmentation might have taken place. This leaves the likelihood that fragmentation took place in or near the Cycladic settlements that contributed material and people to the ceremonies that took place on Keros.

It is therefore interesting to look with a fresh eye at the issue of fragmentation of Cycladic figurines away from Keros, and the data presented in Tables 30.1–30.3 allow us to do that. In the Cyclades beyond Keros, 175 intact figurines are known, with 146 fragmentary. On Crete 48 figurines are intact while 62 are fragmentary. In the wider Aegean, 31 are intact and 46 fragmentary. It is therefore the case that more fragmentary than intact figurines are known from archaeological contexts, even when excluding Keros from the discussion. Whereas in the recent past it may sometimes have been assumed that breakage was more likely to be accidental than deliberate, we must now consider how often deliberate breakage is indicated. Whereas in settlement contexts accidental breakage is a possibility, in cemetery deposits broken figurines are more likely to have been deposited in a broken state. This further demonstrates that breakage, and the state of being broken, are both part of the life-cycle of the figurine, and breakage in itself does not denote an end point in that cycle.

It is also possible to consider fragmentation in relation to type. It is already very clear that fragmentary folded-arm figurines greatly outnumber the fragmentary schematic or

other types in the Special Deposits. In Cycladic settlements, no intact folded-arm figurines are known, while there are 21 fragmentary examples; intact schematic figurines number 40 in the settlements, with 26 broken examples; one intact and six fragmentary other types are known. Therefore schematic figurines are much more likely to be found intact in settlement contexts whereas folded-arm figurines are always fragmentary. Data from the rest of the Aegean are too few for meaningful comparison. In the Cycladic cemeteries, 25 intact and 26 fragmentary folded-arm figurines are known, whereas 70 intact schematic figurines compare with only nine broken schematic figurines (16 intact figurines of other type compare with nine fragmentary examples). This is a strong indication that breakage is less often part of the normal life-cycle of the schematic figurine; however, potential differences in practice between EC I and EC II should also be taken into account in this regard. Schematic figurines without a clear differentiation between head and body (*i.e.* a neck) are also rather hard to break, and are unlikely to be broken by accident. Beyond the Cyclades, in Crete 15 intact folded-arm figurines from cemetery deposits compare with 35 fragmentary folded-arm figurines. The local Koumasa variety is also as often found intact as fragmentary: the fragmented examples are overwhelmingly imports. On the other hand 12 intact schematic figurines compare with only three fragmentary examples (three intact examples of other type compare with two fragmentary examples). Mirroring the pattern in Crete, in the Aegean beyond Crete just three intact folded-arm figurines are known from cemetery deposits, compared with 22 fragmentary examples. Schematic figurines, on the other hand, number 17 intact and just two broken (five intact examples of other type compare with six broken examples).

Overall, the conclusion is that folded-arm figurines are just as likely to be deposited in a grave in a fragmentary as an intact condition: more often fragmented beyond the Cyclades. Schematic figurines, on the other hand, are much more likely to be found in intact condition. Deliberate breakage of folded-arm figurines is therefore not only to be associated with Keros. Indeed, given that the Keros ritual involves just one or maybe two pieces of the broken figurine being deposited there, the question of what happens to the other pieces becomes very relevant. It would appear that some of these pieces are being deposited in graves, and some retained in settlement settings. This points to the likelihood that the concept of enchainment (Chapman 2000) is in play here, as indeed also may be the ‘*pars pro toto*’ concept. The data now gathered in these three volumes shows that the issue of fragmentation might not be accidental or secondary, but rather is at the heart of the life-cycle of the Cycladic folded-arm figurine, and these practices took place both within and beyond the Cyclades.

Types and varieties

The folded-arm figure beyond the Cyclades

Although the chronological priority of the Kapsala variety among sculptures of the folded-arm type is difficult to demonstrate stratigraphically, it seems likely in typological terms. It is a variety so far found almost exclusively in the Cycladic islands, and is likely to have originated there. The folded-arm figurine fragment from Nea Kephisia in Attica published here by Georgousopoulou (this volume: Fig. 11.3) is classed by her as of Kapsala or Spedos variety. The attribution of others from Upper Epidauros (Fig. 15.1), the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros (Fig. 14.1) and Palamari (Fig. 22.7) to the Kapsala variety seems plausible.

In the Cyclades, the commonest variety of the folded-arm figurine is that designated the Spedos variety, and it is likewise the commonest seen in Attica and Euboea, usually in fragmentary condition, as documented in this volume, with examples from the Acropolis in Athens (Papazoglou-Manioudaki this volume), Aghios Kosmas (Kostanti & Christopoulou this volume), Koropi (Kakavogianni this volume), Brauron (Kalogeropoulos this volume), Manika (HM5804: Sapouna-Sakellaraki this volume, Fig. 19.8) and Nea Styra on Euboea (Kosma this volume). These pieces may well be of Cycladic manufacture, quite possibly made on Naxos. The same may apply to examples of the Dokathismata variety seen at Nea Styra (MK1252: Kosma this volume, Fig. 21.5; MK3031: Kosma this volume, Fig. 21.6; and again the head, MK3033: Kosma, this volume, Fig. 21.7).

Other examples of what may be described as of the folded-arm type are found on Euboea (Sapouna-Sakellaraki this volume, Figs 19.6 and 19.7) and at Epidauros (Piteros, this volume, Fig. 15.2) which cannot be assigned to any hitherto recognised variety. Three examples from Manika (Sapouna-Sakellaraki this volume, Figs 19.6, 19.7 and 19.9) have features not seen in any of the recognised varieties of the folded-arm figure, including a rather indistinct nose, the complete absence of knees (at which point the legs are actually slightly concave), and the lack of definition of the feet. These three pieces do not find any precise parallels in the Cycladic islands, and it seems possible that they may be of local, Euboean, manufacture.

The head of a large-sized schist sculpture recovered at the Nea Styra cemetery (MK3041: Kosma this volume) with estimated total height about 925 mm must have been also of local Euboean manufacture. This is the only large-sized figure found beyond the Cyclades and the only one with ears from an authorised excavation. The EC large-sized sculptures are of Spedos variety. The face, however, of the Nea Styra sculpture is completely damaged and therefore its variety cannot be perceived. In the Cyclades, the largest Cycladic recorded complete folded-arm figure is from

Grave 10 at Spedos in Naxos (Papathanasopoulos 1962, 114, pl. 46α) and is 587 mm in height; the largest complete excavated figurine on Keros (Zapheirou 2017) is 582 mm in height. However, the Euboean example finds parallels in size in the Special Deposits on Keros, where several large fragmentary sculptures with an estimated height of more than 900 mm and some more than 1000 mm have been found (Sotirakopoulou, Renfrew & Boyd 2017; Renfrew & Boyd 2017). Apart from the use of schist, the rendering of hair with relief triangles and the holes in the centre of ears of the Nea Styra sculpture are local peculiarities.

The development of the Koumasa variety in Crete seems now very well documented (Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2017), the only recognised and definable variety of the folded-arm figurine which is at home outside the Cycladic islands themselves (Renfrew 1969).

In addition, it appears that in the Cyclades in the time of the Keros-Syros culture, bone pins were made with a head in the shape of a human figure in the folded-arm style, as shown by such a pin found in the Chalandriani cemetery (Marthari 2017, 305–07, fig. 20.15). It is noteworthy that a second such example, a head of a bone pin in the shape of a human figure, has been found at Thebes, Boeotia in a domestic context (Andrikou this volume). This figure is more naturalistic, with right forearm horizontal and left forearm diagonally against the chest, and is rather later than the Chalandriani piece. This may well be a Cycladic import.

Special or action figures and composite figures beyond the Cyclades

The term ‘special or action figure’ is applied to the harpist figures and the flautist, for instance the well-known examples from Keros, and, by extension to other seated figures (like those from Aplomata in Naxos: Doumas & Lambrinoudakis 2017), even though the seated figures are not often very ‘active’ (Renfrew 2018; Renfrew *et al.* forthcoming b). Such seated figures are known from Tekes in Crete (Sotirakopoulou & Gavalas 2017), and reportedly from Cape Krio, off the Anatolian coast, a harpist (Bent 1888, 82), although the present location of the latter is not known, and it has never been illustrated or published in detail (Tuncel & Şahoğlu this volume).

The rarity of such figures makes an example from Manika published here (HM6049: Sapouna-Sakellaraki this volume, Fig. 19.14) all the more notable. It seems unexpectedly slender when seen from the front. The good quality of its rendition makes its origin in a Cycladic workshop, possibly on Naxos, seem probable. On the other hand, a rather crude seated figure from tomb Π at Manika (HM5966: Sapouna-Sakellaraki this volume, Fig. 19.12),

made of 'greenish stone', finds no close Cycladic parallel, and may well be of local manufacture.

The so-called special or action figures (including seated figures) of marble are very rare outside the Cycladic islands, and those from Crete have recently been well-discussed (Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2017).

Schematic figures beyond the Cyclades

Quite a wide range of schematic figurines of marble is found outside the Cyclades, in Attica and Euboea as well as in Western Anatolia and the adjacent islands. Many are of Early Bronze Age date. Most of those known are illustrated here. They have often been regarded as 'Cycladic', and some may indeed be imported from the Cyclades. Most, however, are probably of local manufacture, and it does not follow that they reflect Cycladic influence.

It is worth noting that the spade- and spatula-type figurines are rare in the Cyclades. Only six figurines of these types have been found there, in Paronaxia in particular. Indeed, they represent a very low percentage in comparison to other types of EC I schematic figurines. Examples of this type occur frequently, however, in Attica. More than ten examples have been uncovered to date at various sites dispersed in both eastern and western Attica: three from Tsepi, one from Kato Souli, one from Loutsas, one from Kovatsi (Theocharis 1955, 286, 292, fig. F1), four from Asteria in Glyphada, and one from Kephisos in Aegaleo. This is quite a high percentage in comparison to the total number of Cycladic-type figurines found in Attica in EH I. Furthermore, figurine 9 from Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959, 100–01, fig. 163.9), which comes from an EH I–EH II context, despite the facial characteristics, stands much closer stylistically to the spatula- or spade-type figurines than to the EC II Apeiranthos type as previously suggested (Renfrew 1969).

Pantelidou Gofa suggests that although the first examples of the spade-type figurines were made in the Cyclades, later, within EH Ia, local simplified spade-shaped examples were produced in Attica, where the type prevailed (Pantelidou Gofa this volume). Quite similar ideas are expressed in two other papers (Kostanti & Christopoulou this volume; Kaza-Papageorgiou this volume). Indeed, it is of importance that through gathering the material from Attica in this volume the following may be noted: a) the relatively large number of spade- and spatula-type figurines; b) the fact that these types were quite widespread in Attica; and c) the fact that a figurine close to the spade-type from Kephisos in Aegaleo (Asimakou this volume), despite its similarities with Cycladic examples, is made of limestone, a material rarely used for the manufacture of figurines in the Cyclades. These considerations argue that spade- and spatula-type figurines were manufactured

beyond the Cyclades in Attica, where they were particularly popular.

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INDEX

- Aegaleo, *see* Attica, Kephisos
 Afghanistan 143
 agriculture 56–7, 89, 125, 136, 246, 285
 Akrotiraki, *see* Siphnos
 Akrotiri, *see* Thera
 altar/s, *see* ritual
 Amorgos 48
 Capros 110
 Dokathismata, *see also* figurine/s 153
 figurine finds 163, 237, 276–7
 Kato Akrotiri 60
 Markiani 221
 Minoa 10
 Anatolia/n, *see also* figurine/s
 Alacahöyük 252, 259
 Bakla Tepe 2, 147, 230, 237, 240, 243–5,
 252, 254, 256–7, 260–1
 Beycesultan 147, 183, 206, 237, 244–6,
 252, 255, 258, 284
 Cape Krio 260
 Çine-Tepecik 245, 252–3, 255, 257–60
 Civilisations Museum (Ankara) 260
 contact/influence 164, 228–30, 234–7,
 245–7
 Datça 235, 260
 Göbekli Tepe 251–2
 Harmanören 252, 255
 Hasanoğlu 252, 259–60
 Kaklık Mevkii 252, 255, 258
 Karataş-Semayük 147, 228, 230, 240,
 243–4, 249, 252, 255, 258–9
 Kilia 237, 252–3, 261
 Kulaksızlar-Manisa 237, 245, 252–3
 Kusura 237, 252, 255, 258–9
 Kütahya 255
 Liman Tepe 2, 130, 235, 237, 241–2,
 245–8, 260–1, 286
 metal/s 246
 Miletus 237–49, 286, 288
 Nevali Çori 251–2
 pottery 183, 243
 Seyitömer 240, 243–4, 252, 258–9
 Troy 143, 146–8, 155–6, 237, 240–44,
 246, 252–7, 261, 283–4, 286
 Urfa 251
 Western 10, 237–264
 Yortan 230, 252–3
 Anavyssos, *see* Attica
 Andros 90
 Stofilas/Strophylas 159, 204, 206
 animal/s, *see also* pottery/terracotta,
 zoomorphic
 bird/s (including dove/s and duck/s)
 24–9, 31, 136, 148, 153, 227, 235,
 246, 284, 286
 cattle 104, 193, 240
 fish 11, 30, 33, 204
 hedgehog 165
 monkey 255–7, 286
 pig 104, 164–5
 sheep 165, 240
 tortoise 242
 wild game 12
 antiquities market, *see also* looting and
 Zitelli 251, 253, 255, 257
 Aplomata, *see* Naxos
 Apollo Maleatassanctuary, *see* Peloponnese,
 Argolid, Epidauria
 Arcadia, Garea-Chairolimni 129
 architecture
 building/s 10, 40, 44–8, 79–81, 87, 103,
 108, 110, 199–22, 126, 136, 142–5,
 164, 168–9, 187, 191–9, 202–7, 140,
 245, 251, 255, 269, 281, 284, 287–8
 ‘exedra/es’ 204–6, 210, 212, 214–21,
 224, 226
 floor/s 13, 97–9, 104, 108, 110–13,
 169–70, 192–3, 205, 212, 266–9, 272
 fortifications 142–5, 148, 183–7, 283
 foundation 57, 110, 124–6, 137, 192, 205,
 240, 245, 272, 275, 282
 gateways 204, 208, 239
 monumental 10, 81, 122, 251
 wooden huts 108
 Argolid, *see* Peloponnese
 Argos, *see* Peloponnese, Argolid
 ash/es, *see* burning
 Ashmolean Museum (Oxford) 30
 Asomatos, *see* Kos
 Asteria Glyfadas, *see* Attica
 Asteria, *see* Attica
 Astypalaia (Dodecanese), Vathy 202–26,
 287–288
 Athens, *see* Attica
 Attica 22–105
 Aegaleo, *see* Athens
 Aghios Kosmas 2–3, 24, 28, 35–43, 49, 62,
 65, 69–70, 73, 88–90, 94–5, 99, 102–4,
 110, 113, 136, 147–8, 156, 163, 170,
 198, 235, 243, 281–2, 288, 290, 293–4
 Anavyssos 25, 27
 Asteria/Asteria Glyfadas 2, 23, 31,
 40, 65, 72–5, 89, 94–105, 281, 288,
 290, 294
 Athens, 2, 22–34, 40, 65, 103, 135, 169,
 173, 281, 283, 288, 293; Kephisos
 (Aegaleo) 23, 40, 65–75, 82, 103,
 281–3, 294; National Archaeological
 Museum (Athens) 6, 32, 35, 43, 75,
 165, 81
 Brauron 2, 24, 44–6, 50, 56–61, 67–70,
 72, 75, 170, 281–2, 288, 293
 Eleusis 76–8, 282
 Eutresis 59, 87, 89
 Koropi 2, 44–50, 281–2, 288, 290, 293
 Leontari Cave 2, 7, 9–10, 12–18
 Loutsas 2, 56, 62–6, 281, 288, 294
 Makronisos 32–3
 Mandra 2, 76–8, 227, 281–2, 288
 Marathon, *see* Tsepi
 Nea Kephisia 79–93
 Raphina 39, 59–62, 281
 Tsepi 2, 10, 23, 29, 51–5, 62, 65, 69, 72–5,
 88–9, 91, 95–8, 101–4, 110, 113, 117,
 147, 156, 170, 193, 281, 283, 290, 294
 Berlin
 Antiquities Collection (Berliner
 Antiken-Sammlung) 227, 235, 286
 Staatliche Museen 133
 Beycesultan, *see* Anatolia/n and figurine/s
 boat/s, *see* seafaring

- Boeotia 9, 155, 169, 284
 Lithares 87, 198
 Orchomenos 31
 Sarakenos Cave 9, 13, 16
 Thebes 18, 86, 152–4, 156, 198, 284, 288, 293
- bone, *see also* figurine/s
 animal 12, 38, 40, 44, 84–5, 89, 97, 120, 193, 205, 240–1, 275
 artefacts 30
 human 36, 41, 62, 67, 72–4, 97–9, 103–4, 110, 113–15, 129, 164, 170, 204–5, 285
 palette 62–3, 65, 97, 281
 pin 152–4, 284, 288–9, 293
 tubes/cylinders 40, 148, 156, 170, 187, 283
- Bostani, *see* Peloponnese, Argolid, Delpriza
 Brauron, *see* Attica
 British Museum (London) 156, 233–5, 276
 Bulgaria 143
 burial, *see also* bone/s
 child/ren / infant 62, 98, 102–4, 133–5, 204–6, 210–11, 220, 224, 258, 260, 276
 cremation 170
 funeral/ary 28, 39, 42, 54, 59, 67, 72–4, 81, 102–4, 135, 170–1, 180, 247, 241, 245, 287–8, 290
 grave/s 8, 24, 31, 35–42, 54, 58, 62–75, 87–104, 108–120, 129–36, 152–3, 156, 16–81, 205, 235, 245, 251, 253, 258–9, 266, 269, 276, 281–93; marker/s 97, 205
 secondary 62, 98, 101, 103–4, 113, 117, 129, 144–5, 166, 170
 tomb/s 25, 30, 38, 67, 73, 76–6, 97–9, 103–4, 110–18, 120, 124, 129–30, 132–7, 156–61, 164–6, 170, 228, 230, 237, 255, 258, 260, 281–3, 285, 288, 293
- burning, *see also* hearth/s 14–16, 28, 83–4, 193, 196, 234, 274
 ashes 120, 122, 124, 136, 285
 charcoal 16
 cremation 170
- Caucasus 147
 cemetery/ies, *see* burial
 cereals, *see* food
 Chalandriani, *see* Syros and figurine/s
 Chalcolithic 10, 54, 128, 204–6, 237, 252–4, 261, 281
 charcoal, *see* burning
 children/infants, *see* burial
 Chios 148, 245
 Christian 22, 94
 clay, *see also* figurine/s and pottery/terracotta
 floor/s / wall/s 192, 272
 kaolin 78, 282
 mudbrick 192
 cloth, *see* textile/s
 clothes/apparel 119, 259–60
 collector/s, *see* antiquities market
 colonies/migration 11, 116, 155, 161, 251
 cooking, *see* food, preparation
 Copenhagen (Denmark), National Museum 227–8
 cosmology 11
 Crete, *see also* figurine/s, folded-arm
 Koumasa 116, 142, 147–8, 156, 158, 170, 222, 234–5
 Knossos 135, 196, 280, 290
 Minoan 136–7, 243, 246, 260–1, 271
 cult, *see* ritual
 Cyprus 135, 142
- dance 128
 Datça, *see* Anatolia
 deity/ies, *see* ritual
 Delpriza, *see* Peloponnese, Argolid
 Dhaskalio, *see* Keros
 Dimini (culture) 6
 Dimitriou, S (private collector) 169
 Dokathismata, *see* Amorgos and figurine/s, folded-arm
 drink/ing / libations, 30, 47, 86, 89, 120, 194–7, 241, 246, 257–8, 285
- Egypt 161
 Eleusis, *see* Attica
 enchainment 292
 Epidaurus/ia, *see* Peloponnese, Argolid
 Eretria, *see* Euboea
 Erlenneyer Collection 73, 173, 276
 Euboea 155–62
 Agia Triada Cave 2, 7–8, 15–16, 163–4
 Amarynthos 155, 283
 Eretria 136, 155–6, 160–4, 283–4, 288
 Lefkandi 48, 134–6, 191, 261
 Magoula 136, 155–6, 163, 283
 Makrykapa 169
 Manika 2, 24–5, 87–9, 110, 113, 117, 53, 55–67, 70–1, 198, 277
 Nea Styra 2, 90, 155, 160–4, 168–83, 288, 293
- Eutresis, *see* Attica
- faience 134–7
 feasting 89–91, 241, 243, 246, 257, 285–6
 fertility, *see also* pregnancy 242–6
 figurine/s, *see also* stone
 acrolith 9, 13, 146, 148
 Anatolian 3, 147, 156, 206, 240, 243, 246;
 Beycesultan type 147, 183, 206, 237, 255, 258; Kilia type 237, 252–3, 261;
 Kusura type 237, 255, 258–9; Troy
 type, *see also* schematic, violin/fiddle-shaped 147–8, 155–6, 237, 240, 242–7, 254–7, 261, 283–4, 286
- bird 31
 bone 88, 110, 148, 284; miniature pin head 152–4
 breakage (deliberate in antiquity) 12, 23, 35, 37, 51, 245, 254, 258, 292
 chlorite schist 276
 clay 6, 8–10, 13–16, 44, 124, 128–9, 143, 147, 159, 206, 245–7, 257–9, 287
 clothing 259–60
 Cretan, *see* folded-arm, Koumasa (variety)
- ears 1, 133, 180, 252, 256, 261, 283, 293
 eyes 1, 36, 110, 117, 128–9, 147, 156, 158–9, 165, 168, 234, 252, 254, 256, 261, 284
- folded-arm, *see also* transitional/hybrid; Chalandriani (variety)
 1–2, 8, 30, 73, 76–7, 133, 261, 275;
 Dokathismata (variety) 2, 38–9, 127–9, 152, 161, 168, 171–5, 178, 227, 243–9, 242–7, 271, 275, 280–3, 286, 293; Kapsala (variety) 1, 8, 79, 81, 119, 127–9, 152, 183, 261, 275, 280, 284–5, 293; Keros (variety) 2, 152, 284; Koumasa (variety) 2, 3, 147, 276, 280, 292–3; non-canonical 133; post-canonical, *see also* Keros (variety) 2, 152, 156, 284; pre-canonical 157–9, 284; Spedos (variety) 2, 3, 8, 23–4, 37–9, 46–7, 57–60, 79, 81, 127–9, 152, 156–8, 160–1, 165, 173, 175, 178–9, 269–75, 280–4, 293
- forgery/ies 235, 251
 intrinsic value 259
 Kephala 8–9, 13–14, 16, 237, 259
 large 23, 157, 170, 174, 180, 251, 283, 293
 limestone 12, 70, 73, 146, 235, 242–4, 257, 281–2, 294
 lost 181, 227, 260, 277, 286
 Louros (type) 8, 13, 37–8, 51, 53–4, 88, 97, 101, 103, 128, 147, 156, 191, 194–5, 233–4, 280–2, 284–5, 289
- male 129, 159, 251, 255
 manufacture 3, 9, 26, 77, 135, 180, 235, 250, 284, 293–4; non-Cycladic/local 3, 24, 41, 54, 73, 93–4, 147, 150, 157–8, 160, 164, 237, 252–3, 294
 ‘Masters’/‘Sculptors’ 2, 9; Schuster 173
 metal 259–60
 miniature 25, 88, 97, 99–100, 152, 282
 Neolithic 6–20, 127–8, 147–8, 159, 206, 245, 251, 280
 paint 1, 35–7, 43, 65, 70, 73–4, 90–1, 113, 117, 128–9, 165, 183, 234, 255
 pebble type 147–8, 243–4, 256, 286

- ‘pestle-shaped’ 206, 212, 220, 224, 287
 Plastiras (type) 8, 9, 36, 69, 88, 110, 117, 56, 59, 234, 251, 280, 282, 284–5
 pregnant 1, 173, 261
 prototypes 3, 6, 8, 170, 246
 recontextualised/inherited (in antiquity) 91, 124, 135–7, 235, 246, 285–6
 repairs (ancient) 24, 36–8, 43, 127, 134, 145, 151, 159
 re-used as tool 147
 Saliagos 8–9, 54, 206, 251, 280
 schematic (type) 3, 8, 13, 15, 35–6, 39–40, 44, 46, 54, 62, 65–75, 88–9, 110, 113, 142–50, 156–8, 164–5, 188, 204–6, 217, 227, 234–7, 240–7, 250–5, 270, 280–94; Apeiranthos (variety) 36, 40, 46, 54, 73, 103, 147, 157, 165, 281–2, 294; bipartite 97, 99–100, 240, 281–2; eight-shaped 143, 237, 240–4, 256; multipartite 39–41; plank-shaped 241, 243; spade-shaped 36, 40–1, 51–4, 72–4, 97–100, 103, 144, 147–8, 165, 244, 255, 281–2, 294; spatula-type 72–3, 97–9, 103, 147–8, 281, 294; violin/fiddle-shaped, *see also* Anatolia, Troy type 8, 36, 39, 51, 54, 65–6, 89, 99, 147, 202, 204, 206, 212, 220, 224, 227, 237, 255, 258, 281, 286–7
 shell 37, 51, 53–4, 281
 special/action (type) 287, 293–4; multiple/connected 128, 274–7; musician/s 237, 275, 277, 293; cupbearer 275, 277; seated 157–60, 178, 237, 275–7, 284–6, 293–4
 transitional/hybrid 36, 38, 40, 156, 232, 234–5
 unprovenanced 231–2, 255
 wooden 259
 fire, *see* burning
 food, *see also* feasting and agriculture
 cereals 56, 241
 cooking 47, 86, 108, 197, 220, 243, 271
 meat 193, 197
 storage 47, 128, 193–6, 212, 220, 222, 239, 255
 fragmentation, *see also* figurine/s and pottery/terracotta, breakage 89, 90–1, 245, 269, 292
 Franchthi Cave, *see* Peloponnese, Argolid
 Ftelia, *see* Mykonos
 Geometric 67, 135, 147, 186, 271, 285
 Glyfada, *see* Attica, Asteria
 Gouladris collection, *see* N. P. Gouldadris
 Museum of Cycladic Art
 grave/s, *see* burial
 Grotta, *see* Naxos
 Grotta-Pelos group 235, 266, 281–2
 hearth/s, *see also* burning 85–90, 105, 155, 197, 283
 human remains, *see* bone, human
 human representation/s, *see also* figurine/s 129, 204, 251, 261
 hunting 12
 Iasos, *see* Kos
 identity, individual/communal 9, 11, 91, 193, 196–8, 281
 illicit excavation, *see* looting
 ‘international spirit’ 234, 246
 Ios 48
 Skarkos 40, 156, 186, 198, 235, 245, 285, 289, 290
 ivory, *see* bone
 jewellery 114, 117, 136, 237, 284
 bead/s 40, 97, 110, 113, 117, 133–7, 196–7, 243
 bracelets 252, 260
 necklace/pendant 11, 24–5, 119, 135, 258, 286
 pin 119, 133–5, 148, 197, 260, 284–9, 293
 ring/s 113, 133–4, 285; idols 8, 11
 Kalymnos (Dodecanese) 228
 Kampos Group 24–6, 42, 60, 110, 113, 198–9, 234, 266, 281–5
 Karlsruhe Museum (Germany) 276–7
 Karpathos (Dodecanese) 235
 Kastri group 30, 48, 64, 91, 261
 Katarachi, *see* Peloponnese, Argolid
 Epidauria
 Kavos, *see* Keros
 Kea/Keos, 2, 26–7, 48, 60, 90
 Ayia Irini 87–8, 136, 205, 221, 245, 283–5, 289–90
 Kephala, *see also* figurine/s, 8–9, 13–16, 237, 241, 259–60
 Kephala, *see* Kea and figurine/s
 Kephisos, *see* Attica
 Keros 273, 275–7, 287, 289, 292–3
 Dhaskalio 198, 289–90
 Kavos, Special Deposits 12, 23, 48, 90–1, 148, 170, 173–5, 199, 235, 238, 243–6, 250, 269, 276–7, 287, 289–93
 Keros-Syros culture 24–5, 30, 35, 46, 57–9, 60, 72, 136, 152, 160, 164, 169, 204, 234, 246, 251, 280, 285, 293
 Knossos, *see* Crete
 Koropi, *see* Attica
 Kos (Dodecanese) 2, 227–31, 234, 286
 Kouphonisi, Ano 2, 89, 147–8, 170, 266–78, 285–92
 Koukounaries, *see* Paros
 Kouphonisi, *see* Kouphonisi, Ano
 Kremasti, *see* Rhodes
 Kriezoti, E (collector) 169
 Laconia, *see* Peloponnese
 Lefkandi, *see* Euboea
 Lemnos 143, 147
 Leontari Cave, *see* Attica
 Lerna, *see* Peloponnese, Argolid
 Leros (Dodecanese) 228
 Lesbos, Thermi 142–51
 Levant/ine, *see also* Anatolia 136–7
 Lithares, *see* Boeotia
 Lokris, Proskynas 190–200, 284
 looting, *see also* antiquities market 227, 253, 251, 257, 276
 Loutsas, *see* Attica
 Magoula, *see* Euboea
 Makronisos, *see* Attica
 Makrygialos, *see* Pieria
 Makrykapa, *see* Euboea
 Mandra, *see* Attica
 Mandraki, *see* Nisyros
 Manika, *see* Euboea
 Marathon, *see* Attica
 marble, *see also* figurine/s and stone
 bracelets 252
 macroscopic analysis 32–3, 73, 77–8
 vessels 8, 30, 32, 73, 197, 253, 269–70, 292; beakers 237, 253; bowl/s 14–15, 24, 67, 70, 89–90, 98–9, 104, 113, 116, 148–9, 155, 186, 194–5, 228–230, 235, 282–6; cup/s 37–8; palette/s 67, 90, 170, 282–3; pestle/s 39–40, 67–70, 90, 113, 116, 186, 282, 285; phiale 36–40; vases 54, 90, 114, 117, 163–4, 170, 183–6, 237; zoomorphic 165
 production 10, 14, 26–7, 40, 73, 160, 237, 251–3, 293; Cretan 280; Naxian 23, 246; Parian 183; provenance/sources 199, 232, 259; Pentelic 23
 ‘Masters’/‘Sculptors’, *see* figurine/s
 Melos, *see also* obsidian 48, 78, 115, 170, 253, 282, 289
 Phylakopi 28, 30–31, 48, 73, 135–6, 221, 245–6, 271, 289
 memory (collective) 8, 10–12, 86, 91–3, 191, 246
 Mesaria, *see* Kos
 Mesopotamia 147, 251
 Messenia, *see* Peloponnese
 metal/metallurgy
 bronze 30, 42, 253; coins 202, 275; dagger/s 204, 228, 286; double axes 124; jewellery 133–4, 148, 260, 286; tools 194–5; tweezers 99

- copper 253; axe 228, 286; pin; 119; tweezers 36, 40–2
 electrum 260
 gold, appliqués 259; jewellery 135; Neolithic treasure 6
 iron 77, 133–4, 271–2
 lead 37–8, 60, 81
 metallurgy/metal working 25, 59, 94, 101, 105, 143, 230, 259, 261, 282; litharge 101
 objects 42, 135, 164, 198, 202, 230, 245–6
 silver 60; figurine 260; jewellery 113–14, 117, 153, 260, 285; sauceboat 228, 286
 weapon/s 228–9, 286
 migration, *see* colonies
 Miletus, *see* Anatolia
 Minoan, *see* Crete
 music/ian 275, 277, 293
 Mycenae/an 57, 94–8, 119, 129, 135–7, 246, 260–1
 Mykonos, Ftelia 8, 10, 206
- N.P. Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art (Athens) 2, 54, 73, 128, 133, 275, 267
 National Archaeological Museum (Athens), *see* Attica
 Naxos, *see also* figurine/s and marble 23, 28, 32, 48, 60, 119, 147–8, 156, 204, 246, 292
 Aplomata 113, 119–20, 186, 198, 289, 293
 Archaeological Museum 173, 276, 289
 Ayioi Anrgyroi 88–9, 289
 Grotta, *see also* Grotta-Pelos culture 135, 198, 205, 220–1
 Karvounolakkoi 58
 Tsikniadhes 39–40, 54, 157, 289
 Zas Cave 221
 Nea Kephisia, *see* Attica
 Nea Styra, *see* Euboea
 Neolithic 6–20, 24–5, 57, 62, 78, 130–2, 155, 164, 191, 194, 197–9, 204–6, 220–4, 237, 253, 260, 282, 286–7
 Nisyros (Dodecanese) 227–8, 234, 286
- obsidian 24, 35–41, 69, 72, 78, 83, 97–101, 110–15, 117, 119, 126–9, 155–6, 196–9, 205, 212–13, 237, 239, 243–6, 253, 260–1, 266–9, 271–6, 282, 284–6; production 187–8
- paint/pigment, *see also* figurine/s 40–2, 67–9, 70–1, 90, 98, 117, 156, 282
 Palamari, *see* Skyros
 Papaoikonomou property, *see* Kouphonisi, Ano
 Paros 26, 38–9, 54, 66–7, 147, 281, 289
 Koukounaries 135, 245, 289
 Pyrgos 24, 73 289
 Peloponnese 108–139
 Arcadia 128–9, 136
 Argolid; Argos 2, 81–2, 117, 132–9; 285, 288; Asine/Asini 117, 129, 130; Delpriza 2, 108–118, 129, 136, 156, 285, 288; Ermionida 117; Franchthi Cave 108, 110, 116, 285; Lerna 30, 59, 86–9, 117, 129–30, 136, 191, 196; Tiryns 117, 135–6; Epidauria, Apollo Maleatas sanctuary 2, 117–25, 129–30, 136, 285, 293; Katarachi 124, 129–30; Upper 126–131
 Corinthia, Zygouries 128–30, 136
 Elis 127, 286
 Laconia 129
 Messenia, Romanou 89
 Olympia 127, 286
 phallus/i, *see* stone
 Phylakopi, *see* Melos
 Pieria, Makrygialos 147
 Poliochni, *see* Lemnos
 pottery/terracotta, *see also* figurine/s, hearth/s
 amphora/iskoi 54, 67, 72, 113, 129–30, 269
 Anatolian 183, 243
 askos 24, 27–31, 136, 143–44
 baking pan/s 83, 85–6
 bead/s / ball/s 133–5
 brazier 120–1
 breakage (deliberate) 89–90, 269
 cheesepot/s 85–6, 220, 266
 cooking 47, 86, 108, 110, 220, 243, 247
 cups, depas 48, 170–1, 183, 185, 241, 246–7; tankard/s 39, 48, 83–90, 240
 disc 133
 drinking/pouring 28, 30, 47, 86, 89, 120, 194–7, 241, 246, 257–8, 285
 frying pan/s 8, 11, 25–6, 30, 38–43, 60, 88–9, 97–102, 113, 115, 124, 129, 155–60, 163–4, 186, 194–9, 204, 266, 283, 285, 287
 handle/s, anthropomorphic 8, 16, 164; prosopomorphic 16; protome 8, 164; zoomorphic 165
 ‘hat-shaped’ 88–9
 jug/s 28, 30, 40, 44–7, 88, 103, 133, 164, 186, 193–5, 228, 243, 246
 kerbschnitt 59–60, 86–9
 laboratory analysis 59, 102, 110, 115, 220–21
 lamp/s 148, 271
 miniature 25, 28–30, 40–1, 72, 88, 97–99, 102–3, 166, 246
 oinochoe 1337
 perforated deliberately 83, 89
 pyxis/ides 25–30, 33, 36–41, 59–65, 72, 83, 87–9, 99, 102, 110–14, 129, 134–6, 170, 193–5, 219–221, 224, 246, 266, 282–4
 repairs (ancient) 134
 rhyton 89
 sauceboat/s, *see* sauceboat/s
 seal/ing 30, 129, 205
 spindle whorls 12, 40, 119
 toys 98
 Urfirnis ware 47–8, 59, 83, 88, 186, 194–7, 285
 weights 271
 wheel thrown 48, 246
 whole 82–9, 97, 101, 282
 zoomorphic 39, 164–5
 pregnancy, *see* figurine/s
 Proskynas, *see* Lokris
 Protogeometric 81, 124, 132–7
 Pyrgos, *see* Paros
- religion, *see* ritual
 Rhodes (Dodecanese) 2, 135, 227–8, 232–7, 246, 286
 ring idol/s/pendant/s 8, 11
 ritual 11, 12, 25, 30, 57, 60, 88–91, 97, 101, 120–3, 130–5, 193, 245–7, 281–2, 286, 290–2
 altar/s 122–4, 136, 246, 285
 deity/ies 124, 137, 251
 destruction/‘killing’ (of objects/ contexts), *see also* figurine/s and pottery, breakage 91, 135, 245
 sacrifice 122, 193
 rock art/engravings 8, 104, 108–10, 224, 286–7
 Roman 22, 67, 79, 81, 94, 12–2, 169, 269, 276, 283, 287
 rubbish/refuse 24, 44, 136, 245, 283
- sacrifice/s, *see* ritual
 Saliagos 8–9, 14, 54, 206, 251, 280
 Samos 147, 238, 245
 Sarakenos Cave, *see* Boeotia
 sauceboat/s
 ceramic 40, 44–8, 59, 60, 83–8, 102–3, 110, 128–9, 186–7, 194, 235, 282–5, 292
 silver 228, 230, 286
 sea level rise 164, 168, 206, 239, 246
 seafaring 10, 11, 25, 30–1, 42, 117, 142, 155, 163, 171, 190, 202–9, 224, 253, 281, 287
 seal/s, *see* pottery/terracotta and stone
 semiotics 13
 shell
 marine 37–40, 97–9, 101, 103, 110, 112, 133–5 156, 240–1; industrial processing 108, 117
 tortoise 243

- ship/s, *see* seafaring
 Siphnos 25, 127, 289
 Skarkos, *see* Ios
 Skyros 183–9, 283–4
 social structure/s 8–12, 42–3, 60, 86, 90–1, 104, 117, 137, 143, 190–9, 244–7
 spiral motif 11, 24, 42, 59, 156, 165, 186, 194, 204, 209–10, 266, 287
 star motif 42, 86–9, 102
 stone, *see also* marble, figurine/s and rock art/engraving
 chlorite 36, 41, 276, 282
 emery 40, 148, 286
 flint 108, 112
 green/ish 24, 145, 158–9, 165, 205, 284, 294
 limestone, *see also* figurine/s 12, 40, 56, 67, 108, 113–14, 243, 286
 millstone 241–6, 286
 onyx 40
 pebble/s 54, 89, 108, 119, 170, 284
 phallus/phalloi 255–8, 286
 rock crystal 135, 147
 seal/s 195–7, 205, 216, 224, 284; cylinder 135, 183
 steatite 165–6, 195–9
 tools, axe 274; chipped, *see also* obsidian 12, 212; disc 276; grinder 40, 129, 205; lid 205, 211; mace-head 40; mortar 113, 269; quern 40
 volcanic 146, 150, 240; pumice 40
 working, *see* marble production
 Strofilas, *see* Andros
 Styra/Nea Styra, *see* Euboea
 survey/ies (surface) 12, 25, 104, 155, 164–9, 202, 245, 252–5, 292
 Syros, Chalandriani, *see also* figurine/s, folded-arm 110, 152–3, 165, 178, 198, 204, 284–5, 287, 289, 293
 textile/s 205, 211
 production 12, 40, 119
 Thebes, *see* Boeotia
 Thera 26–8, 33 48, 147
 Akrotiri 8, 73–4, 135, 156, 245–6, 286
 Thessaly 6, 8, 13
 trade/exchange (including imported) 3, 10, 25, 28, 31, 35, 42–8, 56, 60, 75–8, 86, 90, 108, 110, 134–7, 143, 155, 160–4, 190–9, 235–47, 251–3, 260–1, 280–3, 286
 transmission 8–9
 Troy, *see* Anatolia
 Tsepi, *see* Attica
 tumulus 24, 31
 tweezers, *see* metal

 Vathy, *see* Astypalaia

 weapon/s, *see* metal and stone
 wine 28, 246
 wood/timber, *see also* figurine/s huts 108, 155

 Zas Cave, *see* Naxos
 Zitelli (antiquities dealer) 227, 233–5, 286
 Zygouries, *see* Peloponnese, Corinthia

